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ABSTRACT

The internal factors found to be supportive of family stability and mobility in 178 black middle income families in urban and suburban mid-Atlantic areas were examined in this study. The following variables were studied: (1) mobility patterns over three generations, (2) family structure, (3) kinship help network, (4) decision making patterns in the family, (5) the level of satisfaction with present family situation, and (6) preferred family support programs. To test the impact of these family factors during mobility, parents who were already middle income were selected as the target group. Parents were selected from a mid-Atlantic metropolitan center. One half was from the District of Columbia. The other half was from the nearby suburban town of Columbia. To obtain the data on 178 family units, 305 parents were interviewed, 174 mothers and 131 fathers. The measurement instrument used provided data on basic background information, extended family and kin help, educational and occupational mobility over four generations, family structure, and parental decision making. As a result of this study, four mobility patterns based on education were found over three generations. Parents valued education highly, were protective of children, had eqalitarian relationships, and were actively maintaining their ethnic identity. Parents who were under moderate stress, felt impacted by discrimination and indicated a strong need for counseling and supportive services sensitive to their unique needs. (Author/AM)

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THE IMPACT OF EXTENDED FAMILY VARIABLES UPON THE UPWARD MOBILITY OF BLACK FAMILIES

FINAL REPORT

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The Impact of Extended Family Variables
Upon the Upward Mobility of Black Families

Abstract

The internal factors found to be supportive of family stability and mobility in 178 Black middle income families in urban and suburban mid-Atlantic areas were examined. Parents were involved extensively in an extended kin-help network that facilitated mobility. The reciprocal obligations of the exchange were not excessive, were stronger for the newly mobile, but did not require a break from the family of orientation to meet mobility goals. Family mobility was based on the father's education and income, supplemented by the wife's lower salary. Maternal employment was high, but low in the previous generations. The highest academic and occupational achievement and lowest maternal employment were in those who had moved from poverty over three generations, and the reverse was found for those middle class over three generations. Four mobility patterns based on education and occupation were found over three generations. Parents valued education highly, were protective of children, had egalitarian relationships, and were actively maintaining their ethnic identity. Parents were under moderate stress, felt impacted by discrimination and indicated a strong need for counseling and supportive services sensitive to their unique needs; but utilization of existing agencies was low based on perceived insensitivity and cultural preference for the kin help exchange.

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I would like to express my deep appreciation to the 305 parents, the most important people in the project, who volunteered countless hours from their busy lives to share their families' experiences with us. We are very grateful for the parents who identified themselves as subjects when they participated in our field seminars. Sylvia Anderson, Jeanette Fambro, and Maizella McCoy, representing different subgroups within our sample, very effectively provided representatives of social service agencies with direct input about social service needs of Black families. Eight other parents also allowed us to reinterview them on an intensive level to provide us with a personal richness that is often lost in a large scale study.

Our consultants Andrew Billingsley, Carol Stack, and Alvin McQueen, whose writings originally gave me the impetus to do this project, were closely involved in the project providing focus and support during all phases of the research. I am beholden to them all for their generous cooperation.

I appreciate the perceptive critiques of the Outside Readers: Joyce Aschenbrenner, Amy Billingsley, Algea Harrison, Jerold Heiss, Robert Hill, Ruth McKay, Wade Nobles and Robert Staples. They were able to discern points that, being too close, we often could not see. Their extensive notes and suggestions provided direction during the final drafts. We thank our community advisory board members, Reverent John Holland, Patricia Newby, Charles Simpkinson, Harriet Tootle and Miriam Were. Their reactions and questions prevented us from becoming too esoteric.

John McAdoo was actively involved over several years in the conceptual stage and the actual implementation of the research problem that had intrigued me for several years: is there really a viable Black extended family system that supported stability, or was it just a rhetorical defensive stance? Without John's continuing support, and comfort in a dual career family, I never would have started this effort. My four children, Mike, John, Julia and David were another impetus for my wanting to do research on the group of which we all are a part, to understand our own experiences as Black people.

Of course, an effort such as this is impossible without a tremendous exertion of plain hard work, and I was fortunate to have the talents of our interviewers and a remarkable research team. The interviewers were supervised by Willetta Pipes Ewing, Beulah Newby, Marie Chabel and Paul Ewing. Our administrative assistant was Sylvia Singer whose efficiency helped keep us going. Willetta, Judi Yahyavi and Joyce Tankersley capably worked at different stages of the data processing, and Joseph Teresa and Young-shi Ou were our statisticians. Elsie Zdanis was our accountant and so patiently retyped the "final" version countless times. I am grateful for all of their efforts.

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THE IMPACT OF EXTENDED FAMILY VARIABLES UPON UPWARD MOBILITY OF BLACK FAMILIES

Harriette Pipes McAdoo

Contemporary families are in a state of change and are undergoing stresses that may be unique in our society. As in any system, when one component changes, all other components must readjust or the unit functions less effectively or not at all. The changes in economic security, maternal employment and increased single parenting, have raised the need for external family support systems. This re-evaluation and change has impacted on the family system and has produced the need for additional support systems at a time when the organic support systems found in older families and smaller communities are not available. Children are being raised within these families and are unable to receive the stability and security that they need to become competent adults.

Support systems. In smaller subsets of our society support systems still exist which may offer direction for the design of policy that would be supportive for all families. A study of these families, facing the same processes in society as a whole, but who must cope with the added disadvantage of membership in a group that has traditionally received less of society's resources, could provide insight that would be particularly important as we design support programs for the minority family as well as providing direction for programs for all families. As these families become mobile, are they losing certain dimensions of kin support and interaction that eventually will have negative consequences for the welfare of their children? Are there cultural components of being Afro-American that have been transmitted through generations, that have aided survival and will provide nurturance as these Black family units experience the changes occurring across society? Are the unique characteristics of the Black family (maternal employment, shared child-rearing, egalitarian decision-making) those toward which the average American family is now moving? Or will Black families, themselves, lose these characteristics, often forced upon them by financial conditions and augmented by cultural patterns, as they become upwardly mobile?

These questions are those explored by the present study. Black parents who have been able to manipulate the educational and occupational ladder barriers are selected to begin the examination of what characteristics within the family are supportive for this mobility. The internal support systems that are now being used by them as they face their own developmental crises and attempt to rear their children into capable adults are documented, along with the external family support programs preferred by them.

Evidence of Black mobility. The strong achievement of orientation of the Black middle class, noted by Proctor (1969) and Hill (1971), has resulted in upward mobility. More Blacks are attending college (18% are now in college, vs. 26% of whites). Hamilton (1971) stated that between 1964 and 1970 the number of Blacks going to college has more than doubled, from 234,000 to 522,000. Most college students are the first generation of Blacks to attend, indicating strong parental support for the child to be upwardly mobile. A more recent study found that between 1967 and 1972, the number of Blacks in college doubled to 727,000 (Time, 1974). Miller (1971) has stated that the young Black adult receives four more years of schooling than his parents did. In 1950 the average was seven years, and by 1970 the average was eleven years of schooling.

Occupational mobility has also occurred. The number of Black managers, officials and proprietors doubled to 342,000. The total expansion in that category was by only 23%, to 8.7 million. Eleven percent of the United States' population is reported as Black, but they hold 15% of the jobs in the federal government. In 1970, 39% of all professionals were employed by the federal or state government. This would tend to indicate that the private employment sector is not as open in employing nonwhites and that the federal government has provided an area of security. This is also reflected in the concentration of professional Blacks in the metropolitan Washington-Baltimore area included in this study.

Parenting in Black families. Parenting has been defined as the process in which the family socializes the child into the gender, socio-cultural, and economic roles that the parents and/or society deems appropriate. Parenting for competence is more difficult for Black parents than for nonblack, often leading to frustration. The Black parent must guide the child through conflicting developmental tasks during which the child must inculcate the dominant views of our society and at the same time move to actualize his own potential. This double thrust is conflicting because these very societal views are those that prevent his reaching his potential. The lowered expectation of educational institutions will thwart all but those with the most intense motivation to achieve. Economic discrimination will undermine the functioning of a family unit and inferior medical services will lead to decreased efficiency and early death.

The factors that are related to the maintenance of stability and upward mobility in Black families have long been ignored, while emphasis has been placed on nonfunctioning families. When viewed negatively, as is usually the case, one wonders how some Blacks have continued to function. The fact that these families have continued to function despite overwhelming odds, is due to the survival mechanisms that have evolved over generations. The societal preference for the majority group has been operationalized into an environment that has forced family units to rely upon themselves, rather than upon the wider community agencies for the support needed to keep families intact. This reliance upon themselves and upon nonkin who function as kin, has developed into coping strategies of four main forms: 1) diversity in family structure; 2) the close interaction and help exchange between domestic units; 3) employment of the wife; and 4) the egalitarian parent relationship. The research available offered little direction for the identification of antecedent components of Black family mobility.

Black family research. Only limited research has been conducted on the realities and strengths of working-class Black families, while practically no research efforts have been given to documenting the experience of the stable working class and upwardly mobile Black families. All families in all groups are experiencing social, economic, and often geographic changes, but the Black families have the added burden borne by families who must socialize their children to be able to manipulate effectively, a society that does not reinforce positive evaluations of their ethnic group. The extended family and a supportive church and community provided these resources formerly, but as families moved into more urban settings and into higher economic levels, these supports were often missing, while life changes often brought the transitional crises so often found in newer environments. The services that were available were not viewed as sympathetic to the minority experience. They therefore were often not utilized until a conflict occurred with an institution within the wider community.

A continuing criticism of most research using Black subjects has been presented by Billingsley (1968). Research has concentrated predominantly on the most oppressed Blacks of low incomes, who, by definition, are the most vulnerable and face many stresses. These data are then generalized to all Black families and thus perpetuate and reinforce the prevalent biased view. Another tendency is to ignore the majority of stable Black families and the processes by which they are economically mobile. The last trend is the previously mentioned tendency to view the family as the causal factor of Black difficulties, rather than outside racism and economic discrimination.

These inaccuracies in research on the Black family made it difficult to draw a clear picture of what is actual reality for this unit. One element becomes clear in reviewing the existing literature: there was, and still is, no one family structure, mobility pattern, or kin interaction pattern that is common to all Black Americans. There is the common experience of discrimination and economic isolation that has lead to the great diversity found in Black families. The predominant structural form is similar in all racial groups, with variations. Within these similar structures, unique interactional patterns have emerged.

Internal Support System

Family Structure

The extended family. According to Goode (1964), the "extended family' is loosely applied to a system in which the ideal of the society is that several generations should live under one roof. Billingsley classifies the living arrangements of the extended family into four types: 1) simple extended family consisting of a married couple with their own children who take in other relatives; 2) incipient extended family consisting of a married couple with no children of their own who take in their relatives; and 3) attenuated extended family consisting of a single (unmarried, abandoned, legally separated, divorced, or widowed) mother or father with own children, who takes in other relatives; 4) the modified extended family or neo-local consisting of a series of nuclear families joined together by demands of geographical propinquity (Litwak, 1960).

The most frequently found contemporary structure is that of a modified extended or neo-local nuclear form. Structurally the family is nuclear, economically it tends to be independent, but the separate units are intensely involved in a kin-help network that offers emotional and physical support (Sussman, 1959; Litwak, 1960; Leichter and Mitchell, 1967).

There appears to be two basic definitions of the extended family according to the literature reviews: (a) restricted to relatives living in the household, and (b) the entire kin family network. Because of the varying concepts of extended families, this study has included both aspects of the family structure:

1) the composition of household members, as well as 2) the wider patterns of interaction between kin. The two major functions of a family are expressive and instrumental. Expressive needs are those of belonging, self-worth and family cohesion, while instrumental functions refer to meeting the educational, financial, housing and health needs. An assumption is made that these two needs may be met by a wide variety of structural and interactional arrangements.

The functionality of a family, and not its structural form, should be of concern. Five views are currently held on structure and patterns in Black families: 1) The present system is a direct carryover from African systems; 2) the organization of the family was destroyed by slavery and ensuing poverty and has never existed in this country within a stable structural relationship; 3) poor Black families are disorganized but the non-poor stable families are just like all American families; 4) poor families are not disorganized, but organized along different lines as an adaptation to poverty, while the non-poor are indistinguishable from non-Black units (Aschenbrenner, 1977); 5) the present Black family is the result of evolution of diverse African and American experiences. Therefore its cultural values and viable coping strategies have evolved into unique cultural patterns that are found at all economic levels.

Several researchers (Billingsley; Hill; Ladner, 1972; Staples, 1973) have challenged social scientists to give systematic attention to the structure and function in the Black family. They have found that the typical Black family is one in which husband and wife are living together in a growing egalitarian relationship (Bernard, 1966; Billingsley). In an extensive examination of Black family units, Gutman (1976) tested the hypothesis that if a female-headed household (i.e., broken, disorganized families) was the modal form perpetuated as the result of slavery, then this structural form should be even more common during and immediately after slavery. Data to support this hypothesis were not found. Lammermeier (1974) used the 1850 to 1880 U.S. Census and local vital records, city directories, and tax assessments, to obtain information on 80,000 Blacks to also find indications of a strong family in each of these sources, dating from the middle of the slave period into the early part of this century.

The diversity has compounded the difficulty encountered in attempting to gather background information about the functioning Black family, and to examine components of their coping styles that have contributed to the increase in social mobility that has occurred in thousands of Black families, in spite of the brutality of slavery and institutionalized oppression.

In a recent study of 1,651 Black families in 25 metropolitan areas, Heiss (1975) summarized his findings on the Black family in this manner: 1) the majority live in nuclear households; but Blacks are more likely to live in multigenerational units; 2) a majority of Black children live in families of six or more, but less than 40% of the urban families have that many members. 3) He found a relatively weak relationship between objective socio-economic status (SES) indicators and Black family structure. 4) Most Black families are not female dominated, even in lower status; and he also found that 5) the age of marriage is late. Sixty percent of lower-status Black women marry after age 18, while 60% of the men marry after age 21. The nuclear family is strongly embedded in an extended family system, a characteristic it shares with single parent families.

Single parent families. Economic insecurity has intensified, and the economic differential between Black and white families has increased, causing a detrimental impact on the family. The recession brought a decrease in the proportion of two-parent families, while the number of Black female family heads between 1970 and 1976 has increased by 45%, compared to 29% among non-blacks. The proportion of Black children who lived with both parents decreased from 58% in 1970 to less than half (49%) by 1976. In other words, 51% of all Black children under age 18 are now living in this economically vulnerable family form. Available resources are limited in Black families with female heads. Their income was only $5,756, only 65% of that found in non-black female-headed families, $8,893. The urban single-parent unit has continued as the most economically handicapped domestic unit in the United States (U.S. Census, 1976). According to the U.S. Bureau of Census (1977), families headed by women now have different patterns in Black families than those in white families. In white families, a female family head tends to be in a transitional status, a state that changes later by her first marriage, reconciliation or remarriage. More women are now passing through the state. However for the Black female, this often is a permanent status.

The ecological forces have resulted in a higher percentage of Black families having homes with attenuated family structures. Supportive family networks and structures have evolved over the centuries that tend to offset the vulnerability of single-parent households. Heiss found that the female-headed households do not produce all the terrible consequences which have been attributed to them. For example, men who had been brought up in female-controlled homes are not now feminine in their behavior. However, Heiss found this type was not a perfectly functioning unit.

Family Patterns

Family network. The system of neo-local nuclear families relating in a bilateral or generational manner was referred to by Sussman and Burchinal (1962) as the Kin Family Network. The Help Patterns or Mutual Aid Network, outlined in the following section, are based upon the relationships formed in the kin network. The major activities of the kin network are social activities and mutual aid, material and nonmaterial.

Sussman, in a study of 500 Cleveland households of Black and white working and lower-middle socio-economic status, found that 85% were integrated in the modified extended system in terms of propinquity. Only 25% were isolated from the other kin units. The integration into the network cut across class, race, occupation and education.

Rainwater (1966), in viewing poor Black families, found that the extended family form became more important in the urban setting, where it was found to be more difficult to develop satisfactory primary relations. Visiting with kin was found to be the primary social activity. Rainwater felt that one must reject the notion of the isolated nuclear family as found in order to understand the family as a functioning social system interrelated with other social systems.

Distance between family units tended to limit interaction (Rainwater; Reiss, 1962; Adams, 1968). The move of one unit to a more urban area also cut down on functional interaction (Winch, 1968). Adams found less residential dispersion, and hence more interaction, in the blue collar workers. Reiss found a desire for kin to live closer than they now do -- but not too close.

Common residence was strongly frowned upon.

Ethnicity appears to be related to the degree of interaction in the kin network. Hays and Mindel (1973), in comparing Blacks and whites, found the extended network was a more salient structure for the Black families. Robins (1962) found his families of European descent (not British Isles) more likely to be close to the extended family than from other settings.

Winch (1968) found Catholics and Lutherans more familistic than other Protestant groups, with respect to intensity, extensity, and amount of interaction. In comparing Jewish and non-Jewish households (Winch, Scott and Blumberg, 1967), the relationship between ethnicity and extended family was found. Fifty-nine percent of the Jewish (only 27% Catholic, 12% Protestant) had both nuclear and extended units in the area. Seventy-one percent of the Jews visited regularly versus 33% of the Catholics and 15% of the Protestants. The Jews were found to be less migratory than non-Jews, thus increasing the possibility for interactions to occur.

Bruce (1970) tested the hypothesis that intragenerational mobility inhibits participation in informal relationships with kin by examining mobile and non-mobile white males. He found no difference between the formation of new interpersonal ties for the two groups. The occupational mobile visited less often with siblings of either husband or wife. The mobile had friendships of shorter duration, but not a lessening in participation.

Robins (1962), in determining which side of the family is selected for the modified extended family interactions, found that the maternal relatives were closer than the paternal. The number of relative units was not related to the closeness of the family. But he did find that the larger the nuclear family, the less time there was for family visiting. Middle-class women played the central role in maintaining relationships with relatives.

Having established the existence of a kin family network composed of neolocal nuclear families, others went on to study the major activities of this network. A primary activity studied was the interaction between kin, as observed by Adams, Litwak, Reiss and Sussman and Burchinal. The degree of kin relationship and distance of the residence of kin were found to be the most important variables affecting kin interaction. Adams and Litwak supported Reiss's findings that face-to-face interaction is limited by kin distance. Hays and Mindel, in their comparative study of Blacks and whites matched by sex and SES, concluded that Blacks see more of their kin, more often, than whites in all categories except parents.

The degree of kin interaction is often missed in research studies that focus only on structural features. Staples (1972) states that there is a need to determine the norms and values of the process of family interaction and to examine how the process relates to forces shaping it. Farber (1971) saw the kinship network as more than an extension of family relationships; as a system of social relationships derived from the ties of birth and marriage pertaining to an individual's place in society.

Brewington and Comerford (1974) conducted a recent study in Washington, D.C. comparing Black and white working-class families on the amount of interaction and help patterns. They found both groups involved in a mutual aid network with relatives. The Blacks' social lives with relatives were more spontaneous in nature, while whites had a slightly more formalized visiting pattern. The preferred family activity of the Blacks was official family reunions.

The Washington Black respondents felt closer to their aunts than their mothers. They had fewer living parents than the white respondents, reflecting the shorter life expectancy for nonwhites. Thus in the case of death of the mother, the aunt would become the maternal substitute, following the extended family tradition. This was also reflected in the Black social interaction being spread across many relatives, while the white families tended to interact with their family of orientation.

Kin help patterns. The other major activity of the kin network has been delineated as material and nonmaterial help patterns. Sussman's study of white middle-class parents with married children living away from home, found that there existed an established help pattern, parents and children caring for each other during illness regardless of geographic distance between families.

Sussman and Burchinal, in their review of studies, reached the following conclusions:

1. Help patterns take many forms: exchange of services, gifts, advice and financial assistance;
2. the help patterns were widely spread;
3. the direction of the flow of aid was varied, going back and forth between parents and married offspring, between siblings, and into a wider network;
4. middle and working class had little difference between the proportion of families involved in giving or receiving;
5. financial aid was common in all families, often disguised as birthday gifts, etc.

Many of these earlier studies relied upon white respondents, with little attention given to Black families. This situation began to change slightly following the appearance of the Moynihan report (1965) and his simplistic allegations regarding the deterioration of the Negro family. Stimulated by the report, theoretical and empirical studies began to appear which focused specifically on the Black family, but only those in poverty. Additionally, empirical studies, which formerly were almost exclusively limited to white respondents, began including Black respondents.

Hill pointed to the extended family among Blacks as a source of strength and a protection against isolation in the larger society. Hamilton stated that viewing the higher proportion of one-parent families as unstable ignores the extended family adaptation along kinship bonds.

Later studies concerned themselves with the structure and functions of the Black household. Scanzoni's (1971) findings showed that the large majority of his Black respondents (above lower class) had been reared in a simple nuclear family, but that over one-third had received instrumental or task-oriented help from a "significant other," while 66% received help of a person-oriented or expressive nature.

Billingsley stated that Black families cope by banding together to form a network of intimate mutual aid and social interaction with neighbors and kin. In support of this, Gibson (1972) felt that while the household was the basic unit with married couples, those who were in more insecure settings of all classes and groups, the unmarried, divorced and widowed, were intimately integrated into the extended kin network.

Rainwater found an extensive kin family system with complicated matrices of aid and service activities that linked together the family units into a functioning network. The services provided fell into four categories:

1. Care of children, advice giving, shopping, counseling, ongoing activities;
2. services to older persons;
3. providing for kin on the move (finding homes, jobs, etc.);
4. assistance on special occasions and times of crisis.

The main flow of financial aid was along generational lines, parent to young married, and middle-aged to aged.

Stack, in an anthropological study of poor Black families, found an extended cluster of kinsmen related through children, marriage and friendship, who ally to provide domestic functions. Stack found the ties between women often constitute the core of the network. Although household composition changed, members were selected largely from a single network that has continuity over time. A variety of structures were found.

Brewington and Comerford found in their sample that the Black families gave family assistance in finances (79%), help on important decisions (63%), help on special occasions (65%), clothing, food and furniture (50%), and transportation (52%).

The pattern of help would naturally be stronger where the family is most vulnerable. Yet with the strong cultural context of help, it appears that the patterns have become part of the cultural norm even when economic status is more secure.

The family functions to fulfill human needs. Increased urbanization and mobility have altered the family functions as well as its structure. No longer are families involved in economic self-sufficiency efforts for survival, but rather resources are brought from the community to the family and then shared. In economically secure family units the main function of the family has become the provision of emotional support and gratification (Yorburg, 1973). In families beset with poverty, economic support must be given along with meeting the emotional needs of the family members.

Billingsley, Ladner, Stack and Heiss have all stated in their studies that the urban poor Black parents who are rearing children without fathers, often exist within an extended family context of kin and fictive kin. This offsets the detrimental strains such families may experience. The present structural forms that have evolved for Blacks are seen as the best ones from the alternatives that were possible (Gutman, 1976).

One of the strongest Black cultural patterns is that of extensive help systems. The family's effective environment is composed of a network of relatives, friends and neighbors. The social network acts to provide emotional support, economic supplements, and most importantly, to protect the family's integrity from assult by external forces. Nobles and Goddard (1977), attempting to document African components in Black families, have described this phenomena succinctly as that of integrative disassociation from society. By this process the Black adult accepts the goals of the wider society, while concurrently being aware that society will never allow him to reach these goals because of institutional and personal racism. Blacks have been systematically prevented from enjoying the rewards of their efforts and achievements. The internal kin help system acts as a buffer against negative ecological forces.

Kin help networks are found in all ethnic groups. Many groups maintain strong extended family systems despite mobility, yet racism has prevented recognition of similar patterns in Black families. Functionality of the home is positively related to the parents developing the skills necessary to manipulate the American economic system. The recent recession wiped out much of the progress of the last few years, resulting in a decline in the proportion of middle income Black families. There was a decline in multiple Black earners, while an increase occurred among non-black families (Hill). In 1974, the average Black family income was $9,515, or $2,440 per capita, compared to $15,047 for non-blacks. Income has declined, not increased. Black families lost 3% of real purchasing power between 1973 and 1974, when the actual median purchasing power declined to $7,810 (U.S. Census, 1976). The median Black family income was only 58% of the white median income. Kin-help patterns intensify under poorer economic conditions.

In the majority of units, both poor and non-poor, the husband is the main breadwinner. In the 84% of families with both parents working, the wife earns only one-third of the total family income (Hill). Economic isolation and discrimination have required that both parents must usually work. In two-parent homes without a working wife, the Black families average $8,913, only 62% of comparable white family mean income of $14,365 (U.S. Census, 1976). When the Black wife worked, the mean family income was $14,119, or 79% of the white family income. Black female employment increased family income by 37%, while white female employment increased their family income by 17%. In other words, the white male income was sufficiently high so that the employment of the wife was not required for a comfortable standard of living. Still, with both male and female working in Black homes, they managed to earn only 98% of what the white male made by himself. This clearly illustrates the economic inequities existing for Blacks and the limited resources available to meet family needs. The viable alternatives have become more limited with the recent recession, that is still continuing in the Black community. The family help pattern of coping with stress becomes even more valuable. Formal governmental and private programs have not provided the support needed; therefore, the kin help network has remained vitally important as a viable coping strategy.

Reciprocal obligations of kin help. Involved in the kin help pattern is an assumption that help is given to an individual in times of need and that that individual will be available to help others when needed. Billingsley viewed the family-help system, based on networks of intimate mutual aid, as one of the sources of "screens of opportunity" within Black families that facilitated mobility. McQueen (1971) and Stack felt that the reciprocal obligations is essential in the kin help patterns of interaction that are found in many poor communities, especially in Black settings where the community institutions have traditionally not been supportive of the Black family. Stack noted that the extremely poor Black family has not developed along the nuclear pattern because there is a need to provide an alternative system of savings and insurance. The cooperative supports in the extended family sustain and help socialize the family members. McQueen also felt that the Black family would not be able to cope with poverty without this mutual assistance.

Rights and obligations are developed through the kin networks (Stack). The trading of goods and services is a form of insurance and savings accounts. Trading is an important form of distribution and exchange of limited resources available to the poor. Trading refers to the offering and acceptance of goods and services. Stack felt this allows a person to call on others later for aid because he had paid his "premium" at a previous time. This cooperative network is actively and consciously maintained between kin, often to the detriment of new marital units. Many tactics are used to increase the number of individuals who share in the reciprocal obligations. The expansion beyond the household increases the security of the individual by enlarging the circle of persons who may be called upon in case of need.

In contrast, a non-supportive aspect of the kin-help network was discovered in McQueen's study. Based on in-depth interviews of families in Washington, D.C., the subjects indicated that in order to make it out of poverty, Blacks, in essence, had to cut themselves off from their families. A similar theme was found in Stack's study. The extensive kin-help system provided substance, but strong family reciprocal obligations often resulted that prevented stable marriages and could be considered as an impedance to the mobility of younger family members. The more mobile individuals did continue to help out the less mobile with gifts and "loans," not expecting the loans to be repaid.

Stack reiterated that the mobile families did not cut themselves completely off from their kin; but the unequalness of their situation in relation to the "loans" tended to stifle the unending requests for money. By this process the mobile individual may fulfill past obligations, limit ongoing ones, while at the same time providing oneself with more flexibility in seeking mobility goals. Yet, this individual has still paid his dues to form the kin-help insurance that will provide a cushion in case he falls from this vulnerable position.

Shimkin (1975) stated that many Black families were so committed to caring for the needs of aged relatives that they were at risk of losing their farms and homes. The expectations of reciprocity are seen in Southern families as being strong for both kin and "play kin." Shimkin found these extended families stressed high intensities of face-to-face interaction, reinforcing the obligations by participation in rituals such as family gatherings, church services, and funerals. Funerals and the related rituals were seen as being one of the strongest reinforcers of the interactional network in the family. This flexible adaptation to the daily social and economic demands of life is one of the survival skills pointed to by Hill and Billingsley. These adaptive mechanisms, operating at the level of the sociocultural community, are rarely understood in research dwelling on the family system (Shimkin).

Patterns of kin help involvement during mobility. One of the objectives of this study was to conduct an empirical investigation of the impact that specific family factors have upon social mobility in Blacks. In theory, the positive attributes of the extended family have often been presented as the source of Black upward mobility. However, few empirical studies have been made to allow these theories to be tested. One theory states that the extended family fosters achievement, while another states that the reciprocal obligations present in the extended system make it more difficult for upward mobility to occur and to be maintained.

There are many reasons why these theories should have been examined. One reason is that, even though many Blacks are in lower economic status, many

Blacks, in spite of racism and lack of societal support, have managed to manipulate the economic system to achieve stable working class or middle income status. Yet little is known about this core of stable Black families. The present exploratory study examined the role of the kin-help system during mobility by interviewing families who were able to get to the middle-class economic level. The vulnerability of the middle-class Black may demand a continuation of the family support system, but on the other hand, this very vulnerability may require a severance of the reciprocal cords that bind the family members. Does the mobile family have to make a choice between their family of procreation and their families of orientation? If the patterns continue into middle class, will they also continue into the second, third, or fourth generation?

The classical theoretical view of the positive impact of the Black extended family as interpreted by Billingsley and Hill has been that most Blacks have been able to achieve higher status because of the aid given to them by other members of the extended family network. Members within this network may or may not be related by blood or marriage. This view sees that, because of the lack of institutionalized societal support for the achievement of Blacks, the entire extended family must step in at crucial times to provide support over and beyond that normally expected as part of the socializing functions of the families. The family is therefore seen as a priority-setting mechanism in a society with few priority criteria (see Figure 1).

One recurrent example is a family in which the older children leave school early to begin working, while contributing to the educational expenses of a younger child. In this manner, at least one child receives the emotional and financial support needed to achieve. Even after marriage and the arrival of children, the family would provide substantial child care to allow this one person to be able to achieve. Without this arrangement no one in this family would be able to rise above the poverty level. The success experienced as a result of the cooperative effort of the family is then seen as being reflected onto the entire family of orientation.

This second theory, as presented by McQueen, would interpret the above family situation differently in evaluating this type of helping arrangement. It would see the family's help pattern as not ending with the mutual effort that enabled the one child to reach higher educational and social achievement, but extending indefinitely by way of reciprocal expectations, based on the obligations of providing help in exchange for help received in the past. The educated sibling is expected to help his family members as he was aided. He may have to limit his professional and social upward movement to some extent. His physical and financial resources are not able to be solely concentrated on his own professional development or on his family of procreation. His resources must be kept open and fluid to provide financial and emotional help over the trials and frustrations endured by members of his family of orientation, who are still in less fortunate circumstances.

In other words, in the second theoretical view, once a higher status is achieved, the extended family structure may become a liability. The individual has two alternatives: he must 1) continue some form of participation in the obligatory reciprocity stream, or 2) he must isolate himself and his family of procreation from his family of orientation. This view would see that the rationale for the class separation, that may occur as a Black person moves up, is due to the pressures that are brought to bear upon Blacks by the extended kin help expectations.

McQueen and Stack would seem to indicate that only by cutting himself off from his family is the Black of poorer circumstances able to raise himself to a more stable level. This isolation does not exclude casual visiting and joint holiday and ritual celebrations. It also does not exclude support of aging parents or occasional help. It does mean that to some degree, the upwardly mobile Black makes an emotional separation from the draining ongoing everyday needs of his family of orientation.

A third theoretical approach may be that instead of viewing the two theoretical approaches as competing, it may be possible that they both are operative, but at different periods within the life of a socially upward mobile Black adult. The extended family structure may be a source of strength when the person is poor, but may be seen as being limiting when the higher status is achieved. Therefore involvement may be lower once mobility has occurred. If this occurred, it then may account for some of the alienation and antagonism that exists between working and middle-class Blacks. This social class division appears to be stronger among Blacks than apparently is the case within white families.

The fourth view is also possible, involvement in kin help high before and during mobility, that would drop after mobility. Then after a period of stability in a higher economic level in which he feels secure in his new position, the individual will then be in a position, both emotionally and physically, to return to the circle of family and to fulfill the reciprocal obligations of the family.

Another view, the fifth, would be that mutual involvement would continue throughout the mobility cycle but that the form of involvement might change. The involvement would be high before mobility with mutual sharing of resources, it then may become one of the mobile person receiving more than he gives during the period of educational development. This would be followed by a continuation of sharing once mobility was achieved, with more given to non-mobile family members than received. See Fig. 1.

Of course, there is even the possibility that no perceptible pattern will emerge. The impact of family structure could be so individual and so interacting with other variables within the family relationship, that no modal pattern will be found.

Egalitarian Marriage Relations

Decision-making. Along with extended kin help, the egalitarian marital relationship and active participation of all in decision-making and parenting has been an effective coping strategy of Black families. This interaction mode has evolved from many factors into an ongoing valued cultural pattern. This egalitarian relationship has been interpreted by some family experts, not as greater equality between the sexes, but rather as weakness of the father or dominance of the mother. Researchers who have not been sensitive to the diversity of functional family patterns in subgroups have equated this cultural difference with cultural deviancy. The differences found between Black and non-black family structure, especially in the proportion of single-parent mothers (36% Black; 11% non-black), and in the interaction patterns, have contributed to misinterpretations in current views relating to power in Black families.

Ladner emphasized that the active involvement of Black women within the family was one of "strength," but not "dominance." Lack of awareness of the difference between these two attributes has actively led to confusion when describing the Black family. Staples further stressed the economic and social injustices that have lead to the development of these strengths. Hill has presented the egalitarian form, coupled with maternal employment, as one of the strengths found in Black families that has allowed a continuation of the family under economic hardship. This alleged difference in locus of power between Black and white families has been challenged by many researchers. In spite of the general consensus that white families are more male dominant, research results have not shown clear differences. Hyman and Reed (1969), Blood and Wolfe (1969) all presented data that indicated that both Blacks and whites use a shared decision-making model.

Mack (1974) used a bargaining task between spouses and a self report inventory, to gather data on locus of power in decision-making. She too found no race differences. The variable of class differences was more important than race in determining power and sex of decision-maker in marital dyads. Working-class husbands were more influential in discussions, but middle-class husbands were more dominant in bargaining tasks.

Some racial differences have been found. Heiss, in his study that examined 1,651 Black adults, asked them to recall who had control of their families, when they were children, in three areas: punishment, financial control, and "important decisions." He found greater power in the Black mother, but was unable to adequately control for social class differences, resulting in an actual comparison being made between lower socio-economic Blacks and middle class socio-economic whites, while statistically controlling for class differences. Therefore, in spite of his very large data base, and because of the selectivity factor found in recall data, he was unable to provide a definitive comparison of power differences in Black and white families.

Scanzoni compared Black and white spouses in a regional sample on sex role norms and task performance evaluation of wives. Blacks were more egalitarian on innovative sex roles and were higher in instrumental and expressive roles. Black wives were seen as having greater marital authority than husbands. Whites were more egalitarian in traditional and ideological sex-role dimensions. In another comparison, Scott (1976) found that more Black males than whites made the financial decisions and actions for the family. Cromwell (1976) found no ethnic differences between Black, white, and Chicano couples. The major differences were found within the groups.

These results, of little racial differences between the races, can be explained in two ways: 1) no race difference actually existed and the view of Black female dominance is really a racial myth perpetuated by social scientists in their interpretation of their data (see discussion by Hill and Staple of Blood and Wolfe's misleading data interpretations). Or, possibly, 2) differences may have existed in the past but the wider societal changes in women's roles and employment have resulted in the more recent findings of little race difference on family dominance. Consistent with the theory of resources (Dahl, 1968), as the non-black parents have begun to develop characteristics similar to those Black parents have had in the past, they have begun to function and interact with each other in similar ways. Wives who work tend to have more power in decisions. White suburban families have moved toward greater decision-making by mothers, as fathers are forced to devote more of their working hours to employment (Perry, 1976). Therefore, American families appear to be going from transitional egalitarianism to a stage of complete egalitarianism (Rodman, 1972).

The view of female dominance, or matriarchy, in the Black family is not supported by research data or clinical experience. However, what has evolved is a picture of strength on both parental sides, a sharing of responsibility and decision-making within these families. Diverse patterns are found within the families, ranging from complete submission by one or the other sex, through to complete equality between the sexes.

Maternal role in mobility. Both parents tend to work in Black families, however the major responsibility of family mobility rests upon the father, who is responsible, according to the U.S. Census for two-thirds of the family income. However, because of the financial discrimination faced by the Black male, he is usually unable to be upwardly mobile without assistance from his wife.

The employment of the Black female along with the male has been one key factor in the escape from poverty of Black families. The combined income has been required because of the inequity of salary for both sexes with the Black female earning the least of the four main race-sex groups.

Hill stated that Black women are more likely to work than white, but will earn less. The lower earnings, and the comparatively higher proportion of homes headed by females (25-30%) combine to make the Black female vulnerable. In poorer situations the strong kin ties augment her resources. In mobile, urban or suburban locations these ties and outside resources are often missing. Therefore, a woman alone with children will find it more difficult to become upwardly mobile or to maintain middle-class status.

McKay (1975), in a study of upper middle-class Black families in Baltimore, some of whom now reside in the suburban area sampled in this study, stated that the full-time income of the wife is necessary for the maintenance of a middle class standard of living. Typically, she interrupts her professional career just once, in order to bear one child, and then returns to full-time earning for the balance of her professional career. An integral part of the socialization of the Black female is the expectation that she will work full time during her adult years and will combine child-rearing and a career.

The expectation of employment of the mother has resulted in less role conflict such as often seen in middle class white women who have been socialized to be primarily mothers, but who are now contemplating entrance into the job market. The upper middle-class parents in McKay's study usually postponed child-rearing for several years while the couple completed professional training, and both worked to acquire a home. The parents were therefore older at the birth of the first child (the fathers had a mean age of 32.66 years).

The continual working during the child bearing and rearing ages aids the financial picture of the family, but may have further negative effects. These women have to cope with all of the developmental needs of their children, maintenance of the marital relationship, household maintenance, and community activities at the same time. This is the point where other family members have traditionally assisted in the South, in earlier periods where non-mobile family members cared for the house and children while the parents went to work.

This also now occurs when mobile young couples reside in urban centers near parents who are able to assist. But as couples move out of the South and into the inner cities, this assistance is less readily available, especially in suburban settings. Another change occurring is that there are many second and third (or more) generations of Black families in which parents and grandparents have middle-class status, are professionally employed, and therefore are themselves too occupied to augment the responsibilities of the working mother. This forces her to rely on impersonal day-care centers, questionable housekeepers, and her own efforts.

A recent study in the suburban site by Stuart (1974) was based on extensive interviews with women drawn from a sample of 300 households stratified according to housing types. These types were single dwellings, condominiums, townhouses, and apartments, that have been found to be generally related to differential income and educational levels and lifestyle of the parents. The results indicated that certain groups of women were especially prone to discomfort and difficulties in adjusting and making friends. The Black women was one group that stood out. Twenty-seven percent of them reported that their lives were unsatisfactory, while only 9% of the white women had this response. Stewart theorized that these responses were due to racism experienced by the women and the problems experienced by their proportionally higher employment. These two factors would also interact with a third, the stresses brought about by life changes caused by moving to any new community.

It would appear that families with dual employment need supportive community services almost more than any other group in the middle class urban and suburban neighborhoods. Many well-designed support programs appear to be tailored to the needs of families whose mothers stay at home.

Both parents must also face the problems resulting from significant life changes, while facing the occupational and professional stresses faced by other groups. Billingsley has stated that the norm in a two-parent Black home is for an egalitarian relationship, where both parents actively contribute to the child-rearing and family responsibilities. The family had coped with the family network, whose role has now evolved. This form has evolved over the generations where the mother has been forced by circumstances to take full-time employment outside the home.

The "typical" professional white father in the past has had a wife at home whose energies are available to manage child care and to be supportive of his professional obligations, such as entertaining and providing general clerical assistance. By contrast, in the Black family both spouses are often involved in their own professional development, thus creating supportive demands from each other.

Any mental health problems that may arise from the stresses of the dual role played by both male and female are costly to the family functioning, the employers, and most importantly, the children, who could use the protective help of extended members no longer in the home. While the majority of the families are found to be coping, it is desirable to help increase the effectiveness of their functioning wherever possible.

External Support Needs of Families

Support Needs of Black Families

The internal interactional and functional patterns help the Black family cope with normal developmental events and the added strain of protecting family members from racism. The ecological support requirements necessitate a variety of external support programs depending upon the level of stress, significant events and internal resources available. The Black family faces the normal ongoing needs of all families in addition to the special protective mechanisms required to socialize Black children who are surrounded with negative evaluations of their ethnic group. These requirements are the elements that bind all Black families regardless of their economic gains. In spite of economic mobility, the integrative disassociation process by which the adult is placed in ascribed roles regardless of ability or goals, and the comfort of common cultural roots, contribute to the continuation of the Afro-American ethnic culture. This bind prevents complete assimilation by any Black domestic unit into the dominant group and is associated with the similarity found in Black units at all levels. The middle-income Black family cannot then be considered as only a darker version of his non-black associates. Their external supports may therefore be different.

Mental Health of Mobile Families

Many Americans have been found to be miserable in their limited and emotionally depriving existence. Birdwhistell (1970) feels that the idealized nuclear family has inherent problems in its present idealized forms. The problems found sap the energies of all participants. Some of the problems identified were: isolation; the need to handle all of the needs of all of the individuals; the painful preoccupation with unsatisfactory marriages; and stressful parent-child interactions. The goal of supportive preventive mental health programs should be to open up the closed family and to permit the flow of energy and information to and from its members.

The violence often found in families can be viewed as a result of the families' struggling with adapting to the environment and coping with life's stresses (Ilfeld, 1970). These stresses are seen as the consequences of frustration and situational changes. Moving to a new neighborhood, a new job, or into higher status are all marked situational changes. Individuals facing life crises often are overwhelmed by external forces in their lives. Programs can alleviate some of these problems. Parents have been found to be considered external when measured on Rotters Internality-Externality Scale at the beginning of supportive groups (Smith, 1970). They were found to become more internal, having feelings of efficacy over the environment, as the result of a six-week crisis resolution period. These families could then be better able to maintain their functioning within newer settings.

As stated earlier, any programs that are planned and initiated must be designed to meet the needs of the potential receivers of services. The programs should not be in cultural dissonance with the families; they should be appealing, so that families would freely participate. At this point in our knowledge there is little data base for these families from which program planners can make implications for social workers, psychologists, medical personnel and community planners in their actual practice.

There are tendencies seen or stereotypes held by practitioners that have not been empirically tested for validity. Some of these impressions are: Black males do not like to participate in counseling programs; Black families have a high failure rate in keeping appointments in community mental health clinics; Black parents tend not to be supportive of therapists; Black females would rather turn to other Black females than to outside professionals. Some more commonly held perceptions of programming held by Blacks are: psychiatric and medical professionals are totally insensitive to the diversity of cultural experiences of Blacks; therapy programs tend to make Blacks cope with poor situations rather than to actively attempt to make changes; Blacks tend to handle their ongoing problems within the family network; and economically secure Black families do not have the same problems as other Blacks and therefore do not need help. These impressions commonly heard voiced by mental health practitioners are part of the thinking of planners and policy makers. Yet they are not based on data from actual histories of families who appear to be coping with the ongoing stresses of life. The overall goal of this study was to provide a beginning data base that can be used to provide services that help increase the quality of life for all of the family members, the mobile and non-mobile, the parents and children, and other significant members of the family kin network.

Perceived Social Service Needs of Black Mobile Families

The policies related to the provision of external family supports should grow from the expressed needs of the consumers of such services. The vulnerabilities of Black and other minority families, both rich and poor, that are unique, may require delivery systems that are also unique. They may need identical services but would prefer that they be delivered in culturally compatible forms. The expressed social service needs of these apparently stable, non-pathological families provide a data base from which policy analysts and program designers can draw to improve the ecological environment of the families. To provide such a data base, parents were questioned extensively on the social service support programs that they would have liked to have had in the recent past as they faced the normal developmental needs of their families, and those they need to have present in the future.

Indicators of External Support Needs

Significant life events. Two crucial elements of family support needs are the level of stressful life events and the level of satisfaction with their physical, social and family life. The presence of stressful life events require support for the family regardless of kin interaction or help exchange system. It determines the level of external support needed by the families. The subjects were asked to complete an instrument that measures the amount of change that they have experienced within the past few years. Our thoughts and emotions are intimately related to the external environment and, therefore, can be significantly impacted by outside events. Some change is good for it involves the major events of life as we go through our individual developmental cycles. Too few changes would result in a bland existence, but too many may result in chaos to our personal systems or the family unit and end in personal symptoms of illness.

Stress is considered as an accompaniment to major changes in our life situations. These changes can be both happy or sad occasions, such as the death of one's parent or the birth of one's first child. The latter may, or may not, be an occasion of tremendous joy, yet the necessary changes in the ecology of the couple's total life requires a major readjustment that could result in marital or personal strain. Clinical studies have found that significant changes within a family are often later associated with the appearance of stress-related illnesses. There is a high probability that the person will become ill if several of these events occur within a certain period of time. Bereavement has recently been found to lower the body's immunity to infection.

The Holmes and Rahe Scale of Recent Events (1967) was used to measure these events that are felt to be universal. Different events have been weighted on actual populations across the country on a scale giving a higher score for major changes (divorce, 73; death of a child, 63), and lower scores for less traumatic events (vacation, 13). The Holmes scale used two years as a guide during which change was measured. For this study a two-step time dimension was added to the scale to get an additional breakdown of significant change events that occurred within the past six months. Subjects were asked to indicate events that had happened within the past six months and those that occurred from seven months to two years previously. In addition to the overall score, the frequency of occurrence of these events was tallied, data that were unavailable from the Holmes form. A frequency measure would provide an indication of the intensity of stress. Was the family subjected to one major event (e.g. personal injury, 53) over two years, or five smaller events within six months; with lower stress scores. The smaller stress events would have a lower Holmes score but may be even more traumatic on family members because they occurred within a shorter period of time.

Satisfaction with life. An assessment of the varying degrees of satisfaction with their life in general and with their family situation, provides insight on the state of the ecological system of the family. Upward economic status may increase satisfaction, as one has positive achievement in comparison to major reference groups. However, such social status change may also bring stress that may lower evaluations of family situations.

The Standard Happiness Scale used in nationwide surveys, by NORC and University of Michigan, can offer a measure of the global degree of satisfaction with the environment. A recent survey (Harris, 1976) indicated that 44% of the nationwide sample believed that the quality of life had decreased during the past ten years. The chief concerns were achieving a quality education for their children (89%), pollution (79%) and about strict enforcement of safe working conditions (73%). The inclusion of these scales gave an objective indication of the level of stress and overall satisfaction that could be related to the family's need for social service.

Method

Research Design

In an attempt to answer some of the above questions, the variables included in this study are: 1) mobility patterns over three generations; 2) family structure; 3) kinship help network; 4) decision-making patterns in the family; 5) the level of satisfaction with their present family situation; and 6) preferred family support programs.

Based on the review of literature, and after consultation with researchers in the field, the following hypotheses were generated:

Kin Help System

Hy1: Families will be involved in the kin help exchange even when of middle-class status.

Hy2: There will be no significant demographic differences in kin help network.

Hy3: Kin help patterns will be stronger for those with working-class orientations.

Non-Kin Help System

Hy4: Families will have developed supportive help systems with other neighbors.

Reciprocal Obligations

Hy5: The level of reciprocal obligations will presently be moderate for all families.

Hy6: Middle-class families whose parents were working class will have higher reciprocal obligational expectations than families that are working class.

Kin Interaction Patterns

Hy7: High levels of interaction will be found in all families, where family members are within visiting distance.

Hy8: Interaction will be more limited in families living away from urban centers.

Significant Life Changes

Hy9: The majority of the families will have experienced significant life changes within the past two years.

Hy10: Families moving into a suburban setting will have experienced more significant life changes.

Hy11: Stress will be greater for families who are newly mobile than for those at this status for several generations.

Level of Satisfaction

Hy12: Suburban families will have a higher level of satisfaction with their physical environment.

Hy13: Urban families will have a higher level of satisfaction with their social environment.

Hy14: Level of satisfaction will be higher in families with working class families of orientation.

Hy15: No significant satisfaction differences will be found due to family type.

Perception of Community Services

Hy16: Families will have low estimates of the effectiveness of existent preventive mental health services offered by community agencies.

Hy17: Community agencies will not be perceived as being sensitive to and supportive of minority lifestyle and cultural norms.

Hy18: Subjects will have a low level of involvement with supportive social service programs.

Hy19: Definite preferences will be shown for the types of programs preferred by the subjects.

Child Care

Hy20: Mothers of school age children will be employed.

Hy21: Child care will not be provided by the extended family system, but by outside agencies.

Sample Selection

To test the impact of these family factors during mobility, parents who were already middle income were selected as the target group. Parents were selected from a mid-Atlantic metropolitan center to fit into the independent variables of demography and family type. One half were in the District of Columbia and the other half were in the nearby suburban town of Columbia.

Columbia is a ten-year-old planned new town located in Maryland, 15 miles outside of the District. While unique in the convenience of its urban planning, it typifies pleasant suburban sites across the country. A nearly complete list of all Black families was constructed from membership lists of every Black organization, from church rolls and lists gathered from public and private preschools and elementary school rosters. These lists were then assembled into one master list from which the names were randomly selected with replacements. The suburban sample was selected first and then census tracts matching the suburban sample on income and education were selected in the urban center.

All of the parents had to meet the criteria of: 1) Black; 2) presently had a middle-income status (minimum income of $10,000 for one-parent, and $14,000 for two-parent homes; 3) had school age children living in the home under the age of 18 years; and 4) had one parent over the age of 25 years. The parental age cut-off was used because the period before age 25 is the time during which the prerequisites of socio-economic status are developed: education, occupation and income level. By age 25 the SES level begins to become apparent.

Procedure

Interviewing. In each family, the father was interviewed for two hours by a Black male interviewer. The mother was then interviewed separately for two-and-a-half hours by a Black female interviewer. Parents were then each asked to fill in personal data sheets, at their leisure, for 45 minutes, that provided background demographic information and three separate scales.

In one-parent homes, the head of household present in the home was asked to fill out a background data sheet on the other parent. While there was some missing information on the non-resident or deceased parent, we were thus able to get some mobility data on both sides of all of our families. Comparisons were made on both the paternal and maternal line to allow a more accurate analysis of the family's mobility over three generations. While data were obtained from or about both parents in the home, the family as a whole was the unit of analysis. In cases of conflicting information between the parents, the father's data were consistently selected in two-parent homes on mobility patterns and certain background variables. When conflict occurred in child-rearing and kin help and interaction variables, the mother's responses were selected.

Interview protocol. The instrument used was the McAdoo Family Profile Scale that gathered data on 1) basic background information; 2) extended familialism and kin help scale; 3) educational and occupational mobility over four generations; 4) family structure, parental decision-making; 5) schedule of recent life experiences; 6) family size change; 7) comfort with child care; 8) satisfaction with life; and 9) preference for and utilization of family support systems.

Results

Sample Characteristics

Family types. To obtain the data on 178 family units, 305 parents were interviewed; 174 mothers and 131 fathers. Forty-nine percent (88) were urban and 51% (90) were suburban. Seventy-two percent of the units (128) were two-parent units and 28% (50) were one-parent units. Of the one-parent units, 93% (56) had the mother and 7% (4) had the father as sole parent in the home. Of the 4 male heads, 3 were divorced and 1 was separated. Of the female heads, 46% were divorced; 37% were separated; 6% were widowed, and 11% marked themselves as single, but did not elaborate. The proportion of one-, two-parent homes was similar in both sites (see Table 1).

Family structure. Fifty-four percent of the subjects themselves were born into two-parent nuclear homes, 19% in one-parent nuclear, 13% in simple extended, 8% in one-parent extended, and 6% in one-parent with non-relatives present.

The typical present family was a nuclear structure (93%) composed of either one or two parents. The extended form of parents, children and other relative(s), was found in only 6% of the families. The augmented form of parents, children, and non-relative comprised only 2% of the sample (see Table 2). The same proportion of family structures and types were found in both sites.

The family structure of their family of orientation for present one or two parent homes was found. Of the single-parent mothers, 63% were raised in simple nuclear (two parent) homes; 15% were in simple extended; 13% were in attenuated (one parent) extended homes, and 10% were in attenuated nuclear families. Of the mothers now in two parent homes, 57% grew up in simple nuclear;

25% were in simple extended, and only 7% were in one-parent homes. The majority of the fathers were in two-parent nuclear (71%), the next largest in two-parent extended (24%), and 16% in one-parent nuclear. Half of the 4 one-parent fathers were in two-parent and half were in one-parent extended homes. The predominant pattern of the second generation was the two-parent nuclear form, followed by the two-parent extended form regardless of the present family structure. Contrary to the stereotype of the predominance of female-headed homes, these adults who, for the most part, grew up as working class, were with both parents.

Geographic mobility. This was a geographically stable sample for 42% had never moved from the area and 43% had moved only once. When asked about the area in which they had resided the longest, 48% had spent the most time in the middle Atlantic area, with the next largest group of 23% in the South. Most had lived in rural areas (48%) with 25% in small towns and 27% in the urban areas.

The geographic mobility of both parents was compared. Both mothers and fathers in the sample lived most of their lives generally in the middle Atlantic area. The mobility of each parental sex group was compared based on whether or not they had rated themselves as having been born into working or middle class families. Again no significant difference was found in geographic mobility.

By contrast, the subjects' parents had lived most of their lives in the South (49%) with only 26% of them growing up in the mid-Atlantic; 14% in the North, and 8% in the mid-West. Their grandparents were predominantly born and raised in the South (64%), with only a few in the mid-Atlantic area (19%) or the North (7%). The subjects were, therefore, the children of migrants from the South who had moved to the metropolitan Baltimore-Washington area, whose children and grandchildren had remained in close proximity to them.

The urban families had been in the area longer than the suburban families. Most of the urban sample had lived in the immediate area for nine or more years (73%). By contrast, 91% in the suburban site had moved into the area less than five years ago. They all tended to have single-family dwellings. Because the urban families had been there longer they naturally stayed in their present dwellings longer, for 44% of the urban and 21% of the suburban subjects have lived in the same dwelling for six or more years. Only 1% had been in this dwelling during their entire adult life and homeownership had increased with the last move, where only 49% owned their homes.

The majority (68%) now own their own homes. When they were broken into three groups: high, medium and low, a difference in ownership was found. Eighty-three percent of the high; 67% of the medium; and 38% of the lower middle-class families owned their own homes. Sixty-nine percent lived in single family dwellings; 12% in townhouses; 15% in low rise apartments; 2% in condominiums; and 2% in highrise apartments.

There was a nonsignificant tendency for more upper class to be found in the suburbs (33% urban to 53% suburban) and more middle income to be found in the city (52% urban to 42% suburban). These families had not been as mobile as reported in white middle-class families, probably because of more limited occupational opportunities than those available for the white families.

Income. The average income was $19,749 for males and $11,247 for females. Although the educational levels of both parents were comparable, a marked difference was found between the parents on income. The combined family income was similar in both settings, $32,730 urban, and $33,000 suburban. Eighty-five percent of the mothers worked in both sites.

The income for both parents was lower in one-parent homes. The single-parent mother earned an average of $8,920, while single-parent fathers earned $15,250. As reflected in the U.S. Census data for the total population, the single-parent mother had the most economically vulnerable unit when compared to all other units. Mothers in two-parent homes earned $12,133 and fathers earned $19,919. While the two-parent couples earned more than single parents, the fathers on an average earned wages significantly higher than the mothers who worked.

Relating to occupation, the income of fathers in two-parent homes who rated themselves as being born in middle class or working class families was compared. A significant income difference was found ($X^2(12) = 26.39$, $p < .01$), with those born working class having higher incomes and a wider range of income. The highest salary of a father born middle class was $44,000, while 18% of those born working class earned over $44,000 with the highest individual ranking above $55,000. Fathers who were mobile into middle-class status this generation were able to obtain jobs with a higher renumeration.

Ages. The fathers were a little older in the city but both groups of mothers were the same age. The mean age of the urban fathers was 40.73 years and 37.45 for the mothers. The suburban ages were 37.45 for fathers and 37.02 for the mothers.

Children. Of the subjects' 423 children, 51% were boys and 49% were girls in both sites. Slightly more boys on the average (1.19) were born into these families than girls (1.16). The resultant girl/boy sex ratio was 103. This ratio is similar to that found in the United States' ratio for live births for the Black population (Teitelbaum, 1972). Fifty-one percent of the children were between the ages of 6 and 12 years, 26% were between 13 and 18 years, and 13% were under 5 years. The age ranges were similar in both sites and for both boys and girls.

There was an average of 2.37 children per family. This was consistent with earlier studies that have shown that Black families have fewer children than white families of comparable educational level. When heads of families are college graduates, more Blacks than whites have two or fewer children (Glick, 1974). An average of 4.18 people lived in each household. Since 1930 the size of the Black household has fluctuated from 3.8 to 4.1 persons (Glick and Mills, 1974). These families are at the top level of that range.

Religious background. Religion continued to play a very important role in the lives of 57% of the subjects. Eighteen percent said it played a moderate role. Twenty-five percent reported that religion was of no importance in their lives. Those who lived in the city had a nonsignificant tendency to place greater importance on religion (78%) than those in the suburbs (69%). More suburban parents (31%) felt it was of little importance while only 22% of urban parents felt the same way.

These responses are similar to a recent nationwide Gallup poll (1977) on the importance of religious beliefs. In that survey religion was important for 56% (57% of this sample), and fairly important for 20% (18% of this sample). A difference was noted in the proportion who felt religion was not important; 13% of the Gallup poll felt this way while a higher proportion of the sample (25%) felt similarly. These responses indicate a shift in membership from more fundamental denominations and a move away from established churches. However, those who were involved in a church found it to be an important element in their lives. Baptists were most frequent (30%), followed by Methodists (16%), Catholics (15%) and Episcopalians (9%). Only 9% reported no religion (see Table 3).

There was a definite move across the three generations from the more fundamental churches to popularly labeled "high church" denominations, consistent with religion's shifts in the total United States' population when income rises. The majority of the subjects' grandparents were Baptists (fathers 62; mothers 55%); about half the subjects' parents were (fathers 49; mothers 45%); but Baptist membership declined to one-third by the present generation. More were Baptist but membership decreased with increase in status, including 63% of the lower SES but only 25% of the higher. Methodist membership declined in this generation. Meanwhile, since the grandparents' time, Catholic membership doubled (7 to 15%), and the percentage of Episcopalians tripled (3 to 9%). Concurrently, there was a marked increase in no religion reported over three generations (from 0% to 1% to 8%). No significant religious differences were found between the two sites, mobility pattern or SES groups.

Socio-economic status (SES) ratings of families. While all of the parents had been identified as middle class by the Census tracts, a systematic reassessment of their SES was made. The Hollingshead scale is most often used in research. It places greater emphasis on the occupation than on the education of the individual. This form was not felt to be satisfactory for Black adults, who often are unable to obtain jobs appropriate to their education (Scanzoni). Discrimination against Blacks has consistently meant that employment status is determined more by race than educational attainment. Therefore, we coded each parent the standard way, and then did a reverse coding as suggested by Baldwin (1973), giving more weight to education. Concurrently, Heiss stated that the usual methods of controlling for SES will not result in comparable groups when compared across racial groups. Heiss found that in his nationwide study Blacks and whites, equal in the number of years of education, were not equal in earning power. He used a technique of combining education, occupation of main wage earner, and family income to determine status (see Table 4).

These families were of at least middle-class status. Using the standard Hollingshead-Redlich scoring of SES, the families were distributed over the SES classes as: Class I-35%; Class II-38%; and Class III-9%. The modified SES scoring presented similar patterns, but the modified scoring placed more in higher status. The proportions moved the distribution up to: Class I-42%; Class II-31%; and Class III-9%. This supported the contention that Black adults are not able to maintain employment commensurate with their level of education. In other words, occupational discrimination has truncated the occupational mobility of the Black male. There was a tendency for more suburban families than urban families to be in the highest group.

Self rating of SES status. When the parents were asked to rate their own status, using any criteria that made sense to them, they rated themselves as a group lower than they actually were when outside criteria were applied. They seemed to have minimized their own achievements and thus ranked themselves lower. Parents often had difficulty and seemed self-conscious in making these judgments. When they asked for external criteria, they always seemed surprised that they earned more and were more highly educated than the average family, Black or white. This could be a reflection of their own insecurity that has been reinforced by membership in a devalued minority over the years, that did not allow them to freely give an objective assessment of their status. Only 7% of the families saw themselves as upper class, yet 43% would be rated upper class when the standard Hollingshead SES criteria was used and 57% when the modified procedure was used. Most saw themselves as middle income (vs. 47% standardized). Nineteen percent saw themselves as working class (vs. 9%) and the same proportion were rated lower class.

They rated their parents and grandparents as predominantly coming from the working classes (68%). A few (4%) were in lower status. Basically, the subjects felt they had been born into solid working class homes. One fourth (26%) had well educated parents and a tiny group (2%) had parents whom they had rated as upper class. The grandparents were rated by the subjects as having the same proportion of working class units as did the parents' generation, but the percentage of middle income was halved from 26 to 11%. The proportion of lower class units had markedly increased from 4 to 16%.

Their neighbors were also rated and proved to be predominantly middle income (75%) with only a few upper class (6%), working (15%), or lower (3%). No urban-suburban differences were found on self ratings over the three generations.

Status differentials between races. After they had rated themselves, the parents were asked to give their opinions on how status is determined in the white and Black community and if there are differences. Most (68%) felt that there were differences in the way that status was assigned within each group and 32% felt that there was no difference.

Racism in jobs was felt to be a factor by 19%, who felt that Blacks must struggle harder to keep recognition and status.

> "Yes, it takes a lot less money for us to feel we've reached a certain class. Therefore, when some Blacks are making $13-15,000, they think they are middle class, whereas for whites, this is working class."

The differences in values between the racial groups were listed by 15%. Some 10% felt Blacks were more materialistic, and whites valued education and investments, and others (7%) felt whites were more materialistic and that Blacks placed more emphasis on education.

> "They judge each other differently. Blacks give status to teachers, doctors, professionals. Whites give status to business."

> "Black status is different because we require material possession to show position in community."

> "Yes. Whites have money and old line status and power. By old money I mean being in the family for generations. Blacks don't have that, so usually educational status and fame are used which

> is equivalent to the whites' old money. (Cassius) Clay has status in the Black community, whereas in the white community the Black man doesn't have this same status."

While one-third felt no difference in status criteria existed, most felt that ones' status is judged differently in these two groups. The differences come from the economic inequities that one group is placed under. Having limited entrée into jobs with high economic rewards, they feel that different emphasis has developed within each group. There are conflicting opinions on what values are given the most weight. Some felt that the possession of wealth over time has resulted in more attention being given finances and not education by whites, while others felt that the lack of wealth has caused Blacks to concentrate upon personal educational achievement and the symbols associated with money.

SES mobility patterns. The SES mobility patterns constructed from occupational and educational data (see Figure 2) spanned four generations, from the subjects' children, who were born into middle class status, back to the subjects' maternal and paternal grandparents. Three generations of data were available on 128 of the families. Thus, three generational points of mobility were available. Four different mobility patterns were obtained across the three generations: three patterns were upward and one pattern had middle-class status continuing across all generations.

The parents formed a highly mobile group of individuals. Eighty-five percent were mobile into middle class due to their own achievements, while only 15% were born into middle-class status. Ninety-one percent of the families had experienced some form of mobility over the three generations, based on their combined educational and occupational attainments.

		f	%	
Upwardly mobile present generation (born working class)	(___/)	79	62	85%
Upwardly mobile in each generation (subjects born working class; parents born lower class and moved to working class)	(/)	29	23	
Upwardly mobile in parents' generation (subjects born middle class; parents born working class)	(/‾‾)	8	6	15%
Middle class over three generations (grandparents born middle class)	(——)	12	9	

Figure 2. Mobility patterns of sample families over three generations.

The four mobility patterns followed to reach their present status were:

1. Upward in present generation (___/)

The largest group of families (62%) had been born into working class (WC) status and through their own achievement, moved into middle class (MC) status. They had made great academic achievements. Seventy-nine percent of these subjects had advanced professional training and college. Only 15% of their fathers, but 24% of their mothers, had college and professional education. High school was finished by 33% of the fathers and 39% of the mothers (see Table 5).

In the grandparents' generation, the majority of the grandparents had grade school level, but some college was obtained by an average of 17% of the grandparents.

2. Upward in each generation (/)

Over three generations these families had been in three different levels. Their grandparents had been reared in lower class poverty families, the parents had moved to working class, and the subjects were mobile into the middle class status. Twenty-three percent of the families fit this pattern. Subjects in this group had the highest academic training. Almost all (97%) had college or advanced degrees. The parents had high school and the grandparents had junior or grade school (see Table 3). Only 7% of their fathers had earned advanced degrees and 17% had some college. In contrast, their mothers were better educated, for 14% had college degrees and 24% had some college training. The mobility in the second generation may have been helped a great deal by the education of the mother.

3. Upward in parents' generation (/‾‾)

These subjects had all been born into middle class status. The grandparents had been born into working class families. Mobility occurred in the second parents' generation. Six percent of the families fitted this pattern. Educational achievement had decreased in this generation. Only 29% had graduate or professional training, compared to 63% of their fathers and 50% of their mothers. The group's second generation was more highly educated than any of the other four patterns. In the paternal grandparents' generation, one-third of each sex had high school training. In the maternal line, the males had grade school, while the females finished high school. Fourteen percent of the maternal grandmothers graduated from college. Education clearly was a goal within these families. The small cell size for which we have three generations of information (N = 9), however prevents any major implications from being drawn from this group.

4. Middle class over three generations (——)

For these families, the subjects' grandparents had been middle class and this had been maintained, with some slight mobility during the parents' generation and was stabilized into the third (subjects') and fourth (subjects' children) generations. Nine percent of the families were in this group. A subset of this pattern occurred with 3% of the families, who had parents and grandparents who were at a higher level than they presently had become. This was usually because the subjects had received less education and were earning a much lower salary than the past two generations. Because they were clearly middle class, they are included in the fourth group.

An interesting finding for this small group was that the subjects who had been born into families which had been middle class for at least two generations had the lowest percentage (42%) of advanced professional degrees of all the mobility groups. The parent generation had the same level of achievement as the subjects (father 42%; mother 25%). They had maintained their accomplishments but had not moved beyond their parents. However, grandfathers on both sides were very well educated, even by today's standards, with 60% of the paternal grandfathers and 20% of the maternal grandfathers having college and advanced degrees.

Status over time: born working class vs. born middle class. The distribution of families across the four mobility patterns was unequal, with fewer in the two patterns that were born middle class, and more in the two born working class. For this reason the subjects for whom we had three generations of data were regrouped into two groups based on the SES of their families of orientation. A significant association was found between the SES of the family of orientation and the present SES of the subjects ($X^2(1) = 8.76$, $p < .01$). The subjects who were born working class tended more to be upper class (56%) than middle class (44%). Those born middle class tended to remain in the same level (82%) and only a few of them were able to move into higher status (18%).

Education

Level attained. These families had high academic achievements, for 41% of the heads of households had obtained graduate and professional training beyond college. Over half (53%) had gone to college and only a few (6%) had gone no further than high school. No differences were found between the education of urban and suburban dwellers. The increasing level of education over generations is clearly apparent, for the majority of the subjects' four grandparents had no degrees, their parents had high school educations (fathers 53%; mothers 45%), while they themselves had college and masters degrees (fathers 56%; mothers 58%). In two-parent homes, the fathers were significantly better educated than the mothers ($X^2(12) = 29.90$, $p < .003$).

When their education was compared by the status they assigned to themselves at birth, no educational difference was found between the fathers who themselves were born middle class vs. working class. However, there was a significant association between the status of mothers at birth and their obtained education. Mothers born working class had much higher educations than those born in middle class families ($X^2(4) = 15.69$, $p < .001$). The education of the subjects' two parents (second generation) were compared by SES into which they were born. No differences were found between education of the grandfathers in the maternal or paternal side for the two SES groups. Conflicting educational differences were found in the grandmothers on both sides of the families by SES. The grandmothers on the fathers' side who were middle class were better educated than the working class ($X^2(6) = 12.77$, $p < .03$) grandmothers. An educational difference was found between the grandmothers on the maternal side. In that case grandmothers who were rated by the subjects as middle class had lower educational levels than the working class. Of the working class grandmothers, 41% had high school and 34% had some college, while 30% of the middle class grandmothers had less than seven grades, and only 26 had some college training (see Table 5).

Actual degrees earned. In addition to the level of education, we asked for a breakdown on the degrees earned over three generations. More fathers had advanced degrees than mothers: doctorates were earned by 12% of fathers and 5% of mothers; law and medical degrees were held by 8% of fathers, 1% of mothers. Masters were earned in equal proportion by both (fathers 20%, mothers 24%), as were bachelors (fathers 36%, mothers 34%). More mothers (29%) than fathers (19%) had only high school educations. The fathers in two-parent homes had more degrees than the mothers ($X^2(25) = 47.83$, $p < .003$).

The subjects' typical parent earned a high school diploma or only went to grade school. The largest number had high school diplomas (fathers 45%, mothers 53%) or no education (fathers 39%, mothers 29%). Only a few earned graduate degrees beyond college (fathers 6%, mothers 5%). A small percentage earned college (fathers 7%, mothers 10%) or associate degrees (fathers 4%, mothers 3%). The majority of grandparents had only grade school educations, while a fourth had high school diplomas.

The distribution of degrees earned were compared for those rating themselves born middle class vs. working class, who are now in two-parent homes. No differences were found between SES groups in the degrees earned for the fathers or their parents. Being born middle class did not appear to have provided an educational advantage. Nor was a difference found for the mothers' parents. Mothers who felt they were born middle class tended to have fewer degrees than those born working class. This is evidence that the advantages from the previous generation had not flowed into the present one. It is also consistent with the lower achievement found for this particular mobility pattern.

The differences between the educational level and the actual degrees earned points up the fact that the degree earned is not always the most accurate measure of educational achievement. A lack of finances, family responsibility and inaccessibility of educational programs may prevent the accumulation of actual degrees (see Table 6). Educational aspirations were high for their children and 75% of the parents had made some preparation for their children's college expenses.

The stereotype of the female being the better educated, often evident in literature, was not found in this generation. Nor were the mothers comparatively uneducated, as often found in non-black populations. Both sexes had received approximately the same educational training in the subjects' generation with the exception that more men had the most advanced degrees.

A different trend was found for the previous two generations. In the subjects' parents' generation, born circa 1910-20, no sex difference was found, graduate education for each had 6% in this category. In the lower educational levels the mothers had a small tendency to have had higher levels; more of the mothers had college (26 vs. 22% fathers), and high school (39 vs. 35% fathers). More of the fathers, likewise, had received junior high or lower educations (fathers 38, mothers 28%) see Table 5. In the grandparents' generation, in both the paternal and maternal lines, no sex differences were found in junior high or grade levels of achievement. In both the grandmothers also tended to have more high school graduates than the grandfathers (paternal grandfathers 16%, grandmothers 21%; maternal grandfathers 18%, grandmothers 24%). No significant educational differences between the sexes were found in the maternal line in the proportion earning some college and advanced degrees (grandfathers 15, grandmothers 12%). Yet in the paternal line twice as many of the grandfathers (15%) had earned advanced degrees than the grandmothers (7%). These individuals, male and female, born circa 1818-90, had high achievements for their era.

The differences in education between the mobility groups seems to be clearly reflected in their self ratings for when self ratings were analyzed by the different mobility patterns, significant rating patterns were found ($X^2(9) = 21.21$, $p < .01$). While the majority in each group rated themselves as middle class, a larger proportion who were second generation middle class (27%) rated themselves upper class, while 38% of the third generation middle class group rated themselves as working class.

The small sample size of the subjects who were born into middle class status (15%) limits comparison with the larger group born into working and lower classes (85%). However, it appears that educational achievement peaked in the generation in which mobility occurred. The level is maintained in the second generation of middle-class status, and may even decline in the third generation at middle-class status. The fact of being socialized into a middle class family does not appear to be sufficient to maintain this status. The gains of one generation appear not to be handed down to the next. The high drive to succeed may not be operationalized when a child is born into more comfortable surroundings, in spite of the "advantages" available to this person over one born at the blue collar or poverty level. For the middle class subjects, being born at a certain level of financial security may allow the individual to make career and educational choices that are based on interest and not on economic necessity. When this occurs in non-black groups a decline may not occur because these groups have been able to accumulate more wealth during the two generations so that this inheritance status is able to flow into the third generation. The latter generation would not have to depend on high educational achievement to maintain their life-style. The lack of inherited wealth in the Black middle class would not provide a cushion that is often found in other groups (McKay, 1977). The highest educational achievement was found in families in which each generation moves up a little higher. It appears that these families have set a climate inducive to mobility. Another contributing factor could be that the well-educated mothers, born in the early 1920s, married to men of average or better education for that day, were the motivating force that resulted in such high achievement of the subjects' generation.

Educational aspirations for children. In light of their high educational attainments, the parents were asked what the least amount of education was that they expected for their children and what they would really prefer their children to have. Fifty-two percent said they would like their children to have a minimum of a college degree, and 24% said at least a doctorate. Their preferences were higher. Eighty-one percent said they would prefer advanced graduate or professional degrees, and only 18% would be satisfied with only a college degree. No aspirational differences were found between the SES groups, urban and suburban families, or mobility patterns. In two-parent homes, fathers had higher expectations for the child's minimum attainment than the mothers ($X^2(16) = 28.77$, $p < .03$).

Considering these high aspirations and the rising costs of education, the parents were asked about the preparations that they had made to meet these costs. The value of education was shown by their preparations. Seventy-five percent had taken definite action and only 7% had made no plans. Sixty percent had started savings, investment and/or trust funds; 15% had college insurance. Ten percent were hoping for scholarships, 5% planned to have everyone work extra, and 6% planned to get educational loans or seek other sources. No differences in preparation were found between urban/suburban, the SES groups, or the mobility patterns of the families.

Occupations

Occupations were categorized by the standard Hollingshead categories. The parental occupations reflected their high educational level. Forty-seven percent were managers or proprietors, and 40% were high executives. The mothers in the sample were also employed in demanding positions, although more fathers had executive positions (fathers 40, mothers 22%), while the mothers had more clerical positions (fathers 3, mothers 12%). Only one was unemployed. Thirtyfive percent were managers and proprietors, 22% were executives, 25% were administrative, while 15% were owners and clerks. Only 3% were semi- or unskilled. There was no significant urban or suburban differences.

The mobility or financial stability was clearly tied into the occupation and income of the father. The maternal occupational dominance stereotype was not supported for these families (see Table 7). The fathers' occupations within two-parent families had significantly higher status than the mothers' ($X^2(36) = 88.38$, $p < .001$).

The occupational status of the fathers was high, but still was not commensurate with their very high educational achievement, as shown by the SES differences when the two status codings were made. This is even more obvious with the occupational distributions of the mothers who were in positions lower than would be expected based on this education. The mobility or financial stability of these families was clearly tied into the occupation and income of the father. The maternal occupational dominance stereotype was not supported for these families (see Table 7).

While these mothers appeared to have jobs of generally lower status than the fathers, when compared across the two earlier generations, the mothers' families appear as a whole to have higher status for both male and female. The larger group of the males' fathers were skilled and the females' fathers held higher clerical positions. The male subjects' mothers generally were unemployed. Only one-third of the female subjects' mothers did not work. However, 25% held high managerial positions, even though their educational level was similar to that of the other mothers. Their occupational ratings were higher than any other male or female paternal or grandparent or first generation group. The females in our sample came from families who, in the grandparent generation, had higher job status than that of the males. In spite of higher education of the women in the first generation, the majority did not work or worked in jobs lower than the males.

Occupations by mobility patterns. While mobility patterns were based on both sides of the family, the father's mobility pattern was given to the family in 13% of the cases in which there were conflicting SES codes. The fathers' occupational status is clearly related to their mobility pattern and educational level. Fathers from families who were mobile in each generation had the highest ranking occupational status and educational attainment. Ninety-one percent of them were in the top two categories. By contrast, those who were from families who had been middle class for three generations, had only 46% in this status and also had the lowest proportion of heads of households receiving advanced education (see Figure 2).

Further examination of the occupations of the fathers of the subjects (the second generation) were made for each mobility pattern for both the maternal and paternal line. As expected, clear differences were found between the patterns. Fathers born working class had significantly higher occupational status than those born middle class ($X^2(6) = 14.66$, $p < .03$). Little difference was found between male and female lines. Grandfathers in families who moved up in the second generation, or who had been there for three generations, were top executives and managers. Those who moved up this generation and in each, had fathers who were skilled or in clerical positions (see Table 6).

The subjects were asked if job changes usually resulted in advancement or not. Seventy-three percent reported that they had moved to a "better position." Only 1% moved to a lower status job and 20% mentioned making lateral moves. When job changes were examined by mobility patterns some differences were found. More of those who had been middle class for three generations (79%) had moved to a better job in their last change than families who had been mobile in their parents' generation (53%) or mobile in this generation (68%). It would appear that the third generation middle class group with the lowest educational and job status was still attempting to move up.

Maternal employment. The role of maternal employment has continued to be one important mobility factor in the Black family because of the inequity of economic rewards given the Black male that necessitate the combined income of both parents to meet the family's needs. In spite of the high average income of these fathers, 85% of the mothers worked. Their income was not needed to stay above the poverty level, but instead was used to maintain middle income status. There was no difference in their employment level during the first five years of their youngest child when mothers were compared for those born working vs. middle class.

To check for the role of the working mothers in the mobility of the families over the generations, each mobility group was examined for its present maternal employment patterns.

Pattern		Maternal employment
#1	Up this generation	89%
#2	Up each generation	76% (lowest level)
#3	Up in parents' generation	95% (highest level)
#4	MC three generations	89%

By far the most of the mothers now work in three of the mobility patterns (Nos. 1, 3 and 4). The lowest employment (76%) was found in the No. 2 pattern in which each successive generation had moved to a higher status, the group with the highest male educational attainment. The highest working level (95%) was found in the No. 3 pattern in which the previous generation was mobile. The grandmothers of this group had made the greatest educational achievements and over half had worked full time. Therefore, the role model of an educated, employed mother was provided for these subjects as they grew up.

In contrast to the high present maternal employment, almost half of the grandmothers as a group in the second generation did not work (males 49%, females 47%) when the subjects were less than six years old. When subjects had reached school age, 47% of males' mothers and 42% of females' mothers still did not work (see Table 9).

Mobility pattern and level of maternal employment seem to be dependent on the occupation and earnings of the father. Fathers, upward each generation, may now have been earning at a sufficient level that allowed more of them to be able to maintain their present lifestyle on only one income. This would indicate that the mothers have less tendency to work when fathers are earning at a level sufficient to maintain secure status. Role modeling of their mothers was not a factor, for the level of their mothers working full time (30%) was similar to the other patterns. On the other hand, while maternal employment may be linked to the rewards of the father's job, the role model provided the young appeared to be salient for these families with the highest maternal employment at 95%. Their parents both worked, enabling them to become mobile in that generation. Fifty-nine percent of their mothers worked full time and only 35% did not work when the subjects were of school age (see Table 8). In other words, the mobility pattern in which almost all wives now work is one in which the male subject had a mother who also tended to work. The occupational status of mothers by their self rating of status at birth was higher for mothers born working class than those born middle class ($X^2(5) = 12.65$, $\underline{p} < .03$). There was a tendency in the same direction for their mothers ($X^2(7) = 12.42$, $\underline{p} < .059$). While one-third of the working-class mothers did not work, 23% were in managerial positions compared to only 10% of the middle class mothers. They were married to men who had lower occupational status. The important point from this marital combination was that sons born to this union were the ones who had the highest achievement in the next generation. Their motivation may, in some part, be attributed to the drive of the mother of limited education, who when working, did move in many instances to responsible high status positions that sometimes were higher than their spouses (see Tables 7 and 8).

The employment of the mothers in these homes with middle incomes is influenced to some extent by the role model provided, yet the most influential factor appears to be the economic necessity of becoming mobile and maintaining this status in view of the income provided the Black male and especially the Black female head-of-household. It is a reflection of Billingsley's description of the "precarious Black middle class," who have been described by some as being only one paycheck away from welfare. On the whole, the families are at this level because of their own effort and not because the benefits from earlier generations have been passed from one generation to another as is effectively done in non-black populations.

Impact on status of physical characteristics. Frazier (1962) in The Black Bourgeoisie mentioned the status importance of lighter skin color and straightened hairstyles within the Black community. The responses of these subjects indicated that the issue of skin color and hair were still important issues in determining status position, but have a variety of meanings to different individuals.

Fifty-six percent felt it was still an active concern. The concerns of this group were expressed in different ways: 34% felt that skin and hair type were still important, with greater preference being shown for lighter skin and straight hair, in imitation of white characteristics; 17% felt that color was important but that it was changing; and 5% felt a preference existed for darker skin.

Comments indicating the continuation of these as issues:

> "It still exists to some extent. Lighter skins are still favored in dates, secretary jobs, ... especially important for females. Often denied, but still true."
>
> "Yes, because it holds you back from the kind of job you really want to get."
>
> "No doubt of it. It shows in the court system."
>
> "Even here, it showed in the school system. Blacks of upper income would go to lighter colored schools."
>
> "Sometimes. For job maintaining, no; but for job obtaining, yes."

Forty-three percent felt that skin color was not an important factor in a person's status in the Black community: 36% felt there was no effect now but gave indications that it had been an issue in the past; only 7% felt there was no impact; and only 1% had no opinion on this issue. Changes in attitudes were shown by some:

> "In past history light-colored Blacks were given a better chance at jobs, education and housing than darker Negro persons."
>
> "At one time it did, but the trend has sort of reversed. Black-skinned people have come into their rights."

Physical characteristics that are race related appear to still be an important element for these adults. One-half felt a higher status was afforded to non-black characteristics. Over a third felt they were less important now, but had been very important in the past. It appears that these adults feel that everybody has internalized a status preference for characteristics of the majority group, but that the attitudes are not as uniform as found by Frazier in the 1950s, with a decreased emphasis being placed on these status indicators.

Internal Support Systems

Extended kin help exchange. The ability of these families to become upwardly mobile, in spite of great obstacles, may be a result of the aid provided by the family kin system (Billingsley; Hill), or it could be in spite of the obligations that go along with the involvement in the kin system (Stack, 1974; McQueen, 1971). To test which of these possibilities were at play in this group of families, several questions and probes were made on their 1) involvement with their kin, the 2) help given and received from kin, and the 3) obligations that they perceived as accompanying this involvement. Similar questions were asked about their involvements with non-relatives, 4) fictive-kin (non-relatives who become as kin) and friends. We were also interested in testing if different mobility patterns or suburban residency would alter the family interactions.

The hypothesis that families would be involved in the kin-help exchange system even when of middle class status was supported, for the parents indicated an extensive involvement in the kin-help exchange network. Only 20% indicated that no one helped them. They were asked to equate three sources of most help: family, friends and community agencies. Over half (51%) indicated that their families provided the most support, while friends were only of secondary importance (20%) in the support system. Few (8%) said all three sources were equally important. The community agencies, when compared, were not seen as a primary source of aid except by 2% of the sample.

Help received from family. The families felt that they received a great deal of help in 66% of the cases, while only 10% said they received none (see Table 10). Help was not given in just one area but in several, for 55% received aid in two or more areas, and 26% had three or more different types given to them. Help was frequent; it covered several areas of need important to the parents and they appreciated this support. The families appreciated this help (46% fathers, 52% mothers). Many (20% fathers, 18% mothers) not only appreciated it, but expected their family to help them. Some appreciated it, but did not feel they expected it without fail (5% fathers, 11% mothers). A hesitancy to ask was shown by 7% and only 7% indicated that they did not depend on kin assistance (see Table 10).

Financial help from kin was important to the unit and this help continued even though the subjects often earned more than their kin. Money was received during points of crises and when major outlays were needed, as when a downpayment was needed on a new house. Emotional support was an important element mentioned repeatedly by the parents. In times of stress they turned to family members for help and felt confident that help would be available when needed.

Mobility had not changed the cultural pattern nor the amount of help they received, for the level of help received after the point of mobility continued to be the same for most of the families (72%) and had actually increased for a few (4%). Only 24% received less than before. When divided into two SES groups, no class differences were found for the same pattern of continuing support was also found for those of higher class status (69%) and for those of solid middle class status (66%). Even the most affluent felt that they were still receiving the same amount of aid. Again no demographic differences were found by class ($X^2(2) = 1.8$, n.s.).

An interesting difference occurred between mothers and fathers on the kinds of help received. All reported an extensive level of help, but in both sides the mothers reported child care as the most important help given, while the fathers rated financial help higher. The fathers rated emotional support secondly, while the mothers saw financial second, and emotional third. It appeared that the mothers held the concern of child care as more important, especially since they worked and usually had the responsibility of making these arrangements, while the fathers were most worried about financial security of the family.

The type of help received from other family members differed only slightly for one-parent families. Child care (32%) and financial aid (32%) was most frequently provided. No significant differences between urban and suburban differences in kin-help network were found for basically the two groups of families were very similar in their characteristics and kin relations. No differences were found in the help exchange system of the kinds of aid received from family ($X^2(4) = 2.07$, n.s.), given to the family ($X^2(4) = 3.53$, n.s.), nor was there a difference in the kinds of help received ($X^2(4) = 2.07$, n.s.) or amount of different types of significant help given ($X^2(4) = 3.14$, n.s.). Residency and distance away from the city did not alter their kin involvement.

Help given to family. Involvement in the exchange system requires more than being a recipient and involves the continuing and frequent exchange of goods and services. The parents in turn gave the same types of help as they received. Child care was most important (32%), followed closely by financial aid (30%) and emotional support (21%). The assistance given most by one parent families to friends were financial (30%) and emotional support (30%), followed by child care (22%). They had continued to give to their kin at the same rate (65%) as in earlier times. Aid to kin had increased for 44% and only 17% reported a decline in aid given to family.

Fathers and mothers expressed almost identical attitudes on the amount received and their attitudes toward kin help, indicating a high degree of concurrence in feelings about the help that has been given and an indication of accuracy of the separate responses. When help was given, 74% gave in two significant areas, while 26% gave in three or more areas indicating that mobility did not cut off exchanges, in fact support given to kin seems to have increased.

Differential impact of mobility patterns on kin help exchange. In order to examine the differences that may exist in kin exchange patterns between those who were born into middle class status or who achieved it themselves through different mobility patterns, all of the analyses were redone based on which of the three mobility patterns the family fell into: 1) first generation middle class, whose parents were working class; 2) first generation middle class, parents working class, grandparents lower class; and 3) born middle class (both middle class patterns 3 and 4 were combined to equate group sizes). The hypothesis that those with working class origins was not supported for no significant differences in help exchange were found between the mobility patterns (see Table 11). Being born middle or upper class had no impact on kin exchange. The cultural pattern of help exchange existed across all mobility patterns. All groups indicated that the amount of help had not changed and all were equally very appreciative of the help.

The amount of help given by them to other family members was similar. The family was ranked first by all groups as the source of most support. The kinds of help given were similar, with child care predominating in all but the group that was newly mobile, which gave financial help more than any other. This group was the one most recently upwardly mobile and therefore may have families with fewer resources. Child care was the most frequent help received in all groups.

The mobility patterns were further collapsed into 1) those born working class and 2) those born middle class. Again there were no differences between the two social classes of origin groups in the amount or kind of help given to or received from family members, nor in the attitudes held about this aid.

The level of involvement was independent of the point in the three generation cycle during which the family was mobile. The fact that the newly mobile were so heavily involved, that help exchange continued at a pace similar to that in the past, and the financial nature of their involvement is a strong indication that the individuals who have mobility goals do not have to cut themselves off from their families. They are able to maintain an active involvement in the help exchange, provide and receive support, and still be able to maintain a comfortable lifestyle for their families of procreation.

Reciprocal obligations of kin exchange. These families had received and given a great deal of help. We were interested in learning if they did this freely, out of warm feelings for their kin, or if they did so out of an oppressive sense of obligation. Because often more of them gave aid than received aid, we also wanted to get their perception of this exchange.

The hypothesis that the level of reciprocal obligations will presently be moderate for all families was supported. The parents were not operating out of a burdensome sense of obligation, but rather because simply, as was often stated, this is what is done in families. They did not feel that their own security was threatened by the aid extended to kin. No difference between the urban and suburban families was found on any of the reciprocal obligation responses. Mothers in one-parent and two-parent homes showed similar responses on expectations and obligations. They felt that the exchange had been mutually supportive. As a group, 40% felt that they had received as much as they had given, while 34% felt they gave more than they received. They did not feel that the families owed them anything. They were asked what they would expect from a person if they went out of their way to help a family member. Nothing was expected by 1% of the parents. Twenty-one percent expected help only in an emergency. Help was freely given, but obligations are not placed on the family members to reciprocate. As a group (92%), they responded that they did feel obligated to help a relative who was less fortunate than they.

Persons may give aid more freely than money, so we asked what they would feel if they made a financial loan to a family member. The response was different than to the question on general aid. Thirty-eight percent always expected to get their money back and 28% said they usually wanted it back. A third (34%) said that they rarely or never expected to get their money back.

We questioned them about their family's attitudes on members who were able to move to a more comfortable lifestyle than the others. Would pressures be put on this person to share the prosperity with those who remained? They responded that members of the family did not automatically share their good fortune (55%), but they would come through in times of great need. Only 16% responded that a little pressure was placed on them to share; 21% said some pressure was exerted, while only 8% said that a great deal of pressure was felt from their family.

The hypothesis that families who were born working class would have higher reciprocal obligation expectations than families who were working class was supported by the family data. No differences were found on the expectation in sharing between the mobility patterns on most of the questions. There was a significant difference found between the mobility pattern when we asked them to explore their feelings about the expectations held by the family when a person in the family "makes it" or "moves up" ($X^2(9) = 19.72$, $\underline{p} < .02$). No sharing was expected in subjects born in the two patterns with middle class origins (patterns #3 and #4). Help would be willingly given if needed, but not expected routinely just because they may be making more money than others in the family. The significantly different expectation to share the rewards of the newly achieved status was found in the two patterns in which the parents were born working class. In those newly mobile into middle class (pattern #1), one-third (32%) felt that the family members expect some sharing with the rest. A similar but less intense expectation existed in the second pattern in which each generation had moved up. Forty-six percent of them said no sharing was expected, but 32% indicated that a little sharing was expected. Some parents mentioned that they felt continuing pressure applied to help those with lower incomes.

Another significant mobility pattern difference was found in the number of different types of help given ($X^2(6) = 13.33$, $\underline{p} < .04$). The majority of the two newly mobile groups and those middle class for three generation families gave help in one or two different areas. Very few of them gave no help. In contrast, 42% of the families in which the parents were mobile (pattern #3) gave no help at all. It should be remembered that this group of the subjects' parents were highly educated and probably needed little assistance.

Reciprocal obligations were present and were usually responded to with a positive attitude. Help did not appear to be offered and received with an extensive unspoken obligation to respond, but rather because one gives when help is needed, knowing it will be returned when needed. However, financial obligations were expected to be repaid, although help may not be. The "kin insurance policy" was very much in effect within these families. There was some pressure exerted on half of the families in varying degrees by other family members to ensure that they continued to participate in the exchange. Pressure was significantly greater on families whose parents were of lower income than on those whose parents were also in middle income brackets.

Non-kin interaction help exchange. The non-kin exchange appeared to have fewer obligations placed upon the participant. Sixty percent felt they gave as much as they received and 65% felt they were under no obligation for the help shared. Because this exchange was voluntary, with the option to drop in or out present at any time, the obligations are not as intense.

The hypothesis that families have developed supportive help systems with other neighbors was supported. The process of extending the family system to incorporate "fictive" kin was continuing for these parents. Over two-thirds (71%) grew up in homes in which non-relatives were considered as kin, only 23% did not have this experience. When such "relatives" existed they usually filled the role of aunt or uncle (56%), siblings (27%) or cousins (11%). This procedure was significantly more common in working class families of origin (77%) than middle class (53%) families ($X^2(1) = 4.70$, $p < .03$). In working class homes the fictive kin was seen more as an aunt or uncle while in middle class homes they tended to be aunts and uncles, but also as parents to them.

The same incorporation into the family had currently occurred for 61% of the families. No differences in occurrence were found between those born into different economic classes. The role of fictive kin had changed to that of siblings (59%), aunts (17%) and cousins (12%). In other words, they have repeated the same cultural pattern, independent of their SES of orientation. As their parents had done, they have become very close to persons who fulfilled family functions, who in turn would be like aunts or uncles to their own children.

There also was no class of origin difference found in the amount of assistance received from and given to friends. But there were significant differences in the kinds of help received and given to friends by social class at birth. Emotional help was received most frequently (47% working class, 38% middle class), but a difference occurred on the second most frequent help ($X^2(4) = 13.47$, $p < .02$). Middle class born (31%) then received financial help which working class born (38%) received child care assistance. The kinds of help given also differed ($X^2(4) = 15.57$, $p < .01$). Working class (53%) gave more emotional support while middle class (40%) gave more financial help. Newly mobile families were involved in a reciprocal exchange with friends of emotional support and child care. While those who were born middle class were involved in a financial and then emotional exchange with friends. Providing emotional support was clearly the greatest role of friends (44%). Child care was of next importance (30%). They in turn felt their greatest help to friends was also emotional support (44%), and then financial help (24%).

When non-kin exchange was examined by mobility patterns, emotional support continued to predominate except for the three generation middle class families, who also received child care and financial help. Families who had been mobile in this generation (see Table 11) gave friends more emotional support, but middle class born families gave more child care and aid. Those who had just achieved this status, and possibly still the most vulnerable, exchanged emotional support with friends while the others exchanged on a variety of dimensions.

They reported receiving a great deal of help (63%) with some (21%) receiving a very great deal. Eighty-three percent reported receiving two or more different types of help and only 17% received no such help. They exchanged this assistance by likewise giving to friends in two or more different areas (89%). Only 11% gave no assistance. They did not feel that they were beholden to their friends for the help they had received.

These families had become involved in an extensive exchange with their friends with emotional support predominating, but the family was still seen as the most supportive source. They had not recreated a form of extended family with their middle class communities in lieu of their extended family, but had continued to be extensively involved with kin, while seeking significant help from their friends. No differences were found in kin or non-kin exchange between mobility patterns, the different status levels, or between the urban and suburban families.

Kin interaction patterns. The hypothesis that high levels of interaction would be found in all families, where family members are within visiting distance was supported by these families' responses. Sixty-four percent felt that it was very easy for their relatives to visit them and only 20% felt they had some difficulty. They enjoyed their interaction and indicated that they wished they had opportunity for more. They also felt that it was very easy for them to get to their relatives (75%) with only a minority (3%) having difficulty in contacting them regularly. When visits were impossible, contact was maintained through phoning or letters. The kin involvement was an important part of their lives, even if there was some pressure from kin to ensure their continuance in the kin exchange.

A significant difference in the ease of relatives to visit them was found between the four mobility patterns ($X^2(6) = 12.59$, $p < .05$). Patterns #2 (75%), #3 (64%), and #4 (77%) all felt it was very easy, but #1 (newly mobile this generation) only had 59% who felt it was very easy. They appeared to have more difficulty in maintaining contact with their parents.

The hypothesis on limited interaction in families living away from urban centers was supported. For the response on being able to visit relatives with ease, the urban families had significantly more (82%) finding it easy to get to relatives while 31% of the families in the suburbs found it somewhat difficult to visit kin. The majority of their relatives lived within 30 miles of the metropolitan area. However, there was no difference between the two sites in the ease in which their families were able to get to them. The suburban families had more difficulty visiting with parents - 30 miles - showing the impact of the distance from the urban center and their kin.

Continuity of Family and Culture

In light of the parents reporting a strong bond of interaction and reciprocal help between family members, it is important to assess the continuity of shared values and practices between the parents and the family members who may be of different status. One component of mobility often includes a change in approaches to child rearing as parents move into new lifestyles. Discontinuity of these patterns can cause conflict within families.

Continuity between generations. The continuity between generations of a cultural group is often found in their perceived child-rearing practices. We asked them if they felt that they were raising their children exactly as they were raised by their parents. Only 11% felt that they were, and 7% felt they were stricter and more religious. The parents viewed themselves as being more liberal. Eighty-two percent felt they were more involved and child centered than their parents. The differences that they felt existed were that they discussed problems, and made more decisions as a family (43%); were more liberal and allowed greater freedom of expression (29%). They wanted to avoid their parents' mistakes and provide a better environment for their children. A few were not as religious (5%). These parents appeared to be making a conscious effort to provide a freer atmosphere in which their children were given more autonomy and a voice in decision-making.

Typical responses were:

> "No. I let her verbalize her feelings more, talk back, express feelings, anger, and love. I want her to have more of a sense of responsibility."
>
> "We talk. I mean really talk. I was dominated and didn't have any say. We talk and I try to understand him, and don't get upset when he questions my decisions."
>
> "She has much more freedom to make choices. She has more money, is part of most family decisions, has fewer limits, and fewer responsibilities in her home."

Because a majority of them had been raised in working class or poverty homes, they were trying hard to provide what is perceived as a middle class lifestyle. Therefore communications with their children, independence and better educational opportunities were highly valued.

The majority (83%) felt that it was important for their children to know about their family's history over several generations. They felt that it was crucial for their children to know their origins as a means of developing their self identity and a balance in their perception of the role of Blacks within their society in the past and presently.

> "The roots of the future lie in the past."

> "Children can form a strong identification with where they came from. It points up family growth and development."

> "It gives one a sense of identity because our families have been so split up in the past. It gives cohesiveness."

> "They need to know that their grandparents and great-grandparents were enslaved by some of their playmates' relatives and that this shit could take a turn."

> "He'll then appreciate the present more. Recognize that the opportunities they have today are more than those of yesterday. It eliminates generation gaps."

However, some parents (17%) felt that learning their family history was not going to help the present or the future. Some felt that most Blacks can't trace their past anyway and that it is more important to know where you are going than where you have been before.

When asked if they told their children stories about their family history and relatives, the majority of them (56%) related that family story-telling occurred and that it was important to them and their children. Only 11% told these stories infrequently. Some of their explanations:

> "I feel that if you don't give it to them, the little that you know in your head will die with you. I tell them about my 'Dad Jim' (her father) and how we all used to have Xmas down South with everyone visiting us."

> "I can trace my history back four generations to slave owners. I am proud of my heritage and instill this in my children."

> "I tell about a great-grandmother who lived until 103. We tell about my great-grandfather who was run out of Macon, Georgia for racial reasons."

> "Sometimes, not many. Some of the stories are good, some are bad, like about my great-grandparents. My great-grandfather was a bootlegger but my great-grandmother helped to bring about 100 babies into this world. She was a mid-wife."

> "My husband makes up half of his, I know (smile). They keep it and it stays with them. My grandfather tells kids about how he made his living, about a vegetable wagon (as an Arab) through white neighborhoods."

> "I tell them about slavery of great-grandparents and how hard it was to get a job. Also tell about how things were when I was a child."

> "My grandfather was a great chef and he was very proud of being a great chef. My great-uncle was a senator in Indiana. I touch on the humble ancestor rather than great ones because children tend to mouth off."

> "They enjoy knowing that grandma and grandpa were children too, or human too."

> "I give them info about survival techniques of grandparents and parents as well as how well they succeeded and failed. This can then relate family history to general history."

> "I talk about how I used to live because she doesn't know anything about it. It helps them to know how we feel and why we do as we do now. I talk more about our African backgrounds than my own. I want her to know we are linked to theirs and they made contributions and they are not backward people. If she can understand that, then the rest in between will be easier to understand."

Thirty-three percent did not share this information with their children: 9% rarely did, and 24% never did it. They had these responses:

> "Rarely. My family doesn't communicate that much so we don't know all those kinds of stories."

> "I have a tendency to not live in the past."

The parents were then asked if they told stories about famous Black people. Seventy-nine percent gave positive responses. Typical of those who told stories about Blacks who were pioneers, inventors, educators, or civil rights leaders were:

> "My husband is a history major. He does it on Sunday mornings."

> "All the time. Poems at dinner - Paul L. Dunbar. We go to the library and get books on inventors. We read biographies."

> "Once a month now; before when they were younger, once a week. We talk about Harriet Tubman, Jackie Robinson and M. L. King. We showed them his grave site."

> "Whenever the situation arises. TV and newspapers neglect to portray Blacks as part of famous American history events."

> "Regularly, weekly. We talk about H. Tubman, P. Dunbar, C. Cullen, M. L. King. To let them know what Black people did and of all the contributions they have made."

> "Since I'm working, not too often. But we have made all the materials available and children read on their own. I question them to reinforce what they are learning on their own from reading ... Black inventors, Harriet Tubman."

> "If it occurs to me ... Matzlinger invented and manufactured shoe laces, G. W. Carver."

> "Not often, but whenever I can I get books. I feel that you have to offset this sterile white suburban environment. When I see something on TV I tell them this was invented by Blacks."

Twenty-two percent of them did not tell stories and gave some of these responses:

> "We often buy books instead ... M. L. King, and civil rights movement."

> "Personally I don't know that much about famous people. I'm more concerned about my children's knowing things in the future instead of the past."

> "No, they haven't reached the comprehensive stage."

These parents were making more than a casual effort to ensure that their children were made aware of contributions made by Black Americans in the past and in the present. Their behavior would indicate that this element of their culture is valued and active efforts are taken to provide this information to their children.

Attitudes about Afro-American culture. The question on the presence or not of remnants of African culture now existing within the Black community brought a variety of responses with no urban-suburban difference. Only 13% felt there were no remnants, while 87% felt there were some. When asked what form these remnants now take, of the total group, 25% felt it was in music and dance, 16% in dress and hairstyle and 15% in the extended family concept. Other remnants mentioned were religion and superstition (8%), food (6%), art (6%) and languages and oral tradition (6%).

By far the majority felt remnants existed and gave comments such as:

> "We are products of our ancestors. This is reflected in our music, our way of eating and kinship ties."
>
> "The children belong to the community. When I grew up I felt safe with all adults, no children were molested."
>
> "In the lauguage. Many African words are still used by old women."
>
> "Our belief in aliveness of things and the worship towards older generations."
>
> "Tradition of oral history. Sure can't find it by reading."
>
> "Our values are not what whites think they are."

However, others felt no such remnants existed. Examples of comments of those who felt no continuity existed were:

> "Slavery stripped Africans of will, language and everything."
>
> "What we have is only our interpretation of African culture."

In both sites the subjects felt that African traditions were continuing in various forms of music, dress, celebrations of heritage, religious beliefs and the extended family forms. The unique customs that have continued to exist are those that have been able to escape the conforming press of law imposed from the majority group. They then become the true essence of cultural difference. Whether the components of Black culture are based on the continuities from Africa, the result of the American experience, or an interaction between African remnants and experiences on this continent, the majority of the parents (82%) felt that Black culture as it now exists is unique from that found in other ethnic groups. Price (1976) stated that in the basic pattern of cultural retention, socio-cultural groups become transformed into ethnic subcultures. Outright destruction of a culture seldom occurs even when, as in slavery, every attempt was made to prevent continuation of cultural identity.

Parent involvement in ethnic activities. Their involvement in ethnic-related groups was assessed through a series of probes on the type of organizations they participated in, the racial composition of the groups, and if their involvement in all-Black groups had increased or decreased in the past few years. They appeared to be actively involved evenly (54%) in educational, social, political and service/religious organizations. Following that, educational groups (20%) was the most frequently mentioned type of activity. Mothers in two-parent families were involved in all groups but were more involved in educational groups than the fathers ($X^2(16) = 48.08$, $p < .001$) and tended to higher involvement than mothers in one-parent homes.

The race of the organizations tended to be equally mixed between Blacks and whites for one-parent mothers and fathers in two-parent homes, while the two-parent mothers tended toward greater involvement in all-Black groups ($X^2(4) = 11.07$, $p < .03$). Since moving into their present neighborhood, their civic groups and social clubs tended to be integrated for single parents (64%) but were all-Black for the two-parent units (55%). They felt that since moving all groups felt that their interracial involvement had remained at the same level. The two-parent mothers tended to have increased their involvement in all-Black groups (27%).

The race of organizational involvement was related to the level of stress experienced by the families over the past two years - for mothers. Families were separated into high and low stress and compared on ethnicity of membership. For the two-parent fathers, no differences on race composition of organizations were found between those who had experienced a high or low stress level. However, for the two-parent mothers, the intensity of stress was found to be associated with the level of activity in organization in general and their participation in all-Black groups since moving to the area. Mothers who had experienced a lower level of stress tended to be more involved in a variety of organizations (82%) than those with higher stress (47%). Those with high stress appeared to be active in many groups but especially involved in education (25%) and religious (20%) groups ($X^2(3) = 10.89$, $p < .004$). Low stressed mothers had low religious involvement (4%). Mothers with low stress (71%) were more involved in all-Black groups than highly stressed mothers (45%) since moving to their present homes ($X^2(1) = 5.77$, $p < .01$). The mothers under lower stress indicated they were very involved in organizations and tended to concentrate this involvement with those of their own race. The concentration of the highly stressed on religious organizations was understandable because churches are often seen as resources of support for those in trouble. The differences in all-Black participation could be circular. Mothers active with persons of similar backgrounds may be experiencing less stress than those in integrated groups. At the same time, those under high stress may not have the energy or personal resources for involvement in activities that extend beyond their church or child's education.

Parents were asked to comment on any changes in involvement in all-Black group participation:

No change: "I haven't changed my lifestyle since moving out here (suburbia)."

"We've always lived in an all-Black neighborhood."

"I've never been active in any groups. I'm a leader not a group man."

"I haven't found any group other than Concerned Black Men."

"We still have our old friends even if we live a longer distance from them."

"Our fraternities and sororities have always been all Black."

Decreased: "I was born and raised in Harlem and since I moved here, I am more in contact with an interracial situation."

"I haven't made friends yet, except at work."

"I wanted to integrate."

"I'm from a mostly Black community and this one is mixed."

"I would love to be back in Chocolate City (D.C.). I'm now in a church where I'm the only Black. I may change that."

Increased: "We believe in going to a predominantly Black church and have met friends there."

"Black families are misplaced when they move here. I joined Black organizations to meet more Blacks."

"I'm just more comfortable with my own kind."

"Don't want to be bothered with whites."

"There are more Black groups in an all-Black neighborhood."

"I came from Iowa where there were mostly whites. There were very, very, very few Black organizations."

While their organizational involvement tended to be in integrated settings, parents from both family types had informal social activities that were predominantly carried on within all-Black groups. The two-parent mothers again tended to have a stronger involvement than their spouses ($X^2(4) = 19.09$, $p < .01$).

The parents appear to be involved in integrated civic organizations and this involvement was not changed by moving into their current neighborhoods, but when they socialized it tended to be with other Blacks. No significant differences in responses were found between those born working class or middle class. The one-parent mothers and two-parent fathers were more involved in integrated activities, while the mothers in two-parent homes showed a marked preference for involvement in groups with other Blacks and this preference had been intensified. The difference in maternal employment could not account for this preference, for both groups of women tended to be employed. They all had children, so the need to be involved in school-related activities were similar. One explanation could be that the all-Black social functions, both formal and informal, may be more amenable to couples. When asked if they tended to socialize on weekends together or with their own friends, 94% indicated that they were always together. The single parents, who were mostly mothers, therefore may have been forced to seek a variety of social activities and tended to maintain a higher involvement in integrated or majority white groups.

Child Rearing Concerns of Black Parents

Protectiveness of children. A traditional belief has been that Black parents have had to be more protective of their children because of societal pressures. During slavery the parent was forced to train the child into submission for survival, while at the same time attempting to establish feelings of worth through the psychological protection that was afforded by the cultural life of the slave family and community that were beyond the control of the white owners. The same pattern continued during the reconstruction period and the days of jim crow laws. The family attempted to shield the child to allow him to develop a sense of self-worth within the shelter of the family and Black community before and during the period in which the child was subjected to harsh discrimination in the wider community. The enforced establishment of parallel institutions, churches, schools, medical facilities, business and social organizations, was used to protect the individual and foster development of the cultural patterns and practices that occurred during the evolution of practices brought over from Africa, through slavery experiences and into the present time. The reality of the negative stigma attached with the legally enforced separation, was internalized by many participants, but was offset to a great extent by the positive contributions these parallel institutions played in the physical and emotional survival of the group. These institutions went beyond the mere survival level and became a creative force that gave birth to the continuing cultural dimensions of Black life. An example of this creative use of a segregated school could be seen in the responses of the parents who felt that they themselves had received a superior education in the segregated schools compared to that their children are now receiving, the majority of whom are in integrated schools. Their schools may have had inferior physical surroundings to that of white students, but because their teachers strongly emphasized education as the only alternative open to them, and because knowledge of Black culture was routinely taught to them, they were able to make the most of their surroundings and felt capable of achieving. The parents portrayed some sense of frustration in not having power to influence their children's education because they were either in a minority status or, if in the majority Black system, unable to impact a large bureaucratic system.

There was not an overall agreement among the parents when they were asked to compare the protectiveness of Black and white parents. The majority of the parents (50%) felt that Black parents did have to protect their children more than non-blacks. Yet many (43%) felt that it is the same in all groups, and a few (12%) felt that Blacks were less protective.

The reasons given for the greater protection was to shield the child from a hostile society and, therefore, they needed extra help compared to a child who was not so subjected on both covert and overt levels.

> "The situation makes you a little more protective. Because they are innocent and need to be protected."

> "Because of fear of hurt or rejection that my child might encounter especially in confrontation with whites."

> "It stems from our parents and how they raised us. Being protective was something they instilled in us, it was something we felt we had to do. I'm not sure why this is."

> "Because Blacks have seen and experienced so much they don't want their child to go through the same thing."

> "If my son is 19 and a white 19 year-old boy were on a corner, if something happens, they'd blame the Black child before they'd blame the white."

> "Because the only support Black children have in the community is his parents, because of a racist environment."

The parents who felt there was no race difference felt that it really depended more on social class than race or that all parents love and protect their children.

> "You can't generalize. Its culture and class."

> "Regardless of color, you love your child just as much."

> "We are all protective."

Those who felt that Blacks were less protective (12%) felt that Black children were allowed to go out earlier than whites and that employment of both parents cut down on time spent with children.

> "They don't have time to be as protective. They have to be twice as prepared for life because life would be twice as rough for them. Due to the racial situation."

> "In my opinion both have to work. But they don't have the extra time to deal with their children."

> "Black parents let their children go out on their own earlier. We can't support them as long as white people."

> "Some Black children are given a lot more responsibility at an early age, some are not."

Overall these parents tended to continue to support the traditional view of the need to protect the Black child from a hostile environment and, therefore, to be more protective. Those who disagreed felt that all parents make the best effort they are able to under the circumstances. If they are less protective, it is due to the economic need and the differentiation in pay between Blacks and whites. Almost all adults are required to work and they therefore have less time to protect their children.

Perceived racial difference in child rearing. Seventy-four percent of the parents felt that Blacks raised their children differently from non-blacks, while 20% felt that there was no difference. The main difference was often related to the amount of strictness within the home. Fifty-six percent felt Blacks were more strict and 3% felt they were less strict. No significant differences were found between mothers and fathers. Several parents mentioned that whites were "looser" with their children.

> "We tend to be a little more harsh and strict so as to not cuddle our children as much. Blacks teach them to face reality."

> "Blacks are more concerned and protective of their kids because they know they will not be given a fair shake no matter how bright the kids are. Sometimes this takes the form of being strict, because we are afraid that the child will hit the brunt of society too soon. Also they put emphasis on sports where they know that they will be welcome, rather than the band ..."

> "Black kids are better disciplined than whites as far as manners and respect for parents. Whites don't seem to think that spanking kids is right. But I wouldn't allow my teenager to talk to me the way some young children talk to their parents."

> "Blacks not highly educated are more restrictive - educated Blacks seem to be permissive and like others (whites)."

> "We have stricter standards. Blacks are constantly preparing their children to deal in a hostile world. Its the basis for striving for excellence."

When answers were tabulated between those born in middle class and working class families, a significant difference was found ($X^2(3) = 8.66$, $\underline{p} < .03$). Of those born middle class, 54% felt all groups raised their children the same, while 31% felt Blacks were stricter. However, of those born in working class families, 63% felt Blacks were stricter and only 18% felt there was no difference. All did not see this strictness as being a positive effect on the child.

> "Other ethnics teach kids to be aggressive and express their opinions. We teach them to be seen and not heard."

> "We hinder our kids to a certain extent by saying don't do this or don't do that."

References were made by many on the differences in values between ethnic groups. The question often discussed regarding ethnicity about whether Black is a racial or an ethnic group appeared to have little concern for them. Repeated references were made to "our ethnic group." This would seem presupposes the agreement that being Black was greater than a physical commonality, but rather also involved a set of values, beliefs, and customs that differed from other groups.

> "Blacks have their own concept of life. You impart your values unconsciously and consciously."

The value differences mentioned by the parents tended to be related to the positions held by the ethnic group within the wider society. Therefore the values preferred referred to those attributes that would enable a person to rise above a devalued position in society.

> "It's necessary to try to instill a code of values which would enable children to deal with a white-oriented society effectively and maintain a sense of value in themselves."

Their attitudes toward whites was not one of reverse discrimination or an antiwhite stance, but rather one of ...

> "This is the way the system works and whites are part of the system."

> "Blacks don't teach their children that people are of lower class, and that whites are killers or lynchers - we never mention it."

The emphasis, rather, of their feelings was that you have only yourself or your family to rely on in the future.

There were no differences found on the child rearing questions between parents born in different SES groups. The values stressed, as evident from their responses, were of independence, loyalty to family, sharing with family, educational advancement, strictness in child rearing, and understanding that negative evaluations of them are not to be taken personally. Examples of comments on the different values are given below.

Independence: "Blacks teach them to face reality. We raise them to be a little more independent."

Sharing: "A form of sharing is more prevalent in Black families because of having so little - sharing becomes an important factor."

"Close ties. More emphasis is put on sharing (not dog-eat-dog), more emphasis on rearing child, to love self and neighbor (more biblical effect)."

Family unit: "We tend to have a tighter family structure and are more rigorous disciplinarians."

Education: "We stress achievement and education more than white parents because we have not had this chance."

Self-worth: "I feel Blacks raise their children with more pride than before, and to be proud of being Black."

"We want a sense of self respect, pride, self acceptance of being Black and respect for others. Aspirations for our children are very high."

Reaction when child is in a minority situation. "If your child was the only Black child in a nursery school, would you encourage him to be assertive or passive?" The majority of parents (55%) felt that they would encourage their child to be assertive at all times in any situation. They felt that this was a healthy form of behavior and that people then would respect them and not walk over them. Others felt the child should assert himself to show he was equal, not inferior and to maintain his identity. In two-parent homes more fathers (69%) felt that they should be assertive than the mothers (49%). Many felt that Blacks have been too passive in the past, while others have been assertive and aggressive against them. A typical comment was:

> "Assertive. I think it's an expression of her self confidence or self pride. I would want her to always know that she is always as good as the next person; that because of her color she is not any different from anyone else."
>
> "Both of my children were in this situation. I encouraged the son to fight because I found out that 3 and 4 year olds have already picked up prejudices from their parents and they pass it on to their peers. So it was for self protection."
>
> "Assertive as a motherfucker because I know those people would try to kick his ass if he didn't kick theirs first."
>
> "Assertive. I want her to be independent, feel important - just as important as they are. Hold your head up always, and look them (whites) in the eye."

Another 20% of the parents would want the child to be flexible in their stance, depending on the situation. They wanted the child to respond according to the events:

> "There are times for both assertiveness and passivity."
>
> "He would have to be flexible and adaptable depending upon what the situation was."

While 19% would want the child to be himself.

"I wouldn't want to encourage him to be something he is not."

"Just be himself. Children have to develop at their own pace and sometimes you create problems about race when none exist at that age level."

Only 2% would encourage their child to be passive.

"If she was aggressive, she'd get into trouble and the odds would be against her."

"He must learn others' ways and get along."

Those who advocated accommodation appeared to do it out of fear of what would happen to their child when he was in a minority situation.

As the majority of the parents tried to foster independence and communication within their homes, they also were trying to provide their children with an assertive attitude and to encourage the child to also speak up for himself with non-black peers who may attempt to relate to them not as equals, but in a negative manner. There was also a strong feeling that the child must be allowed to find his own way and react according to the situation. This was an issue that parents had strong opinions about, for only 3% said that they did not know how to encourage them. Many of the children had the experiences of being in a minority situation and the parents did not believe that children, even at a preschool level, were able to relate to each other as simply one child to another. Rather, the children have been forced to encounter the societal preference for white over black and have found it necessary to form a defensive stance for their children.

Responsiveness to racial slurs. Parents were asked their expectation of their child if a white child called him a "nigger." Thirty-nine percent would expect their child to ignore it and do nothing.

"They would consider the source and consider the source ignorant."

> "I would expect her to say ... you have a problem and then walk away."

> "Ignore him, because names can't hurt them and to be above anyone who calls names. I would let her handle it."

Twenty-two percent would expect the child to retaliate with negative slurs against the white child:

> "Call the white child a cracker in turn."

> "I would expect him to define the meaning of nigger, and to assure the child that nigger does not pertain to just one race."

Over 18% would expect the child to hit back:

> "Slap the hell out of her. Ask her what she did, and then tell her to be aggressive."

Nine percent would expect the child to assert himself and ask for an explanation, 6% would discuss the child's reaction to the slur.

> "He would be very assertive in taking care of it. He might call him a name or pop him. Then I would sit down and talk to my child about his reaction and help him see how he felt about it."

The parents were asked what would be their reaction to having their child called a nigger by a Black child. More of them would expect the child to ignore it (57%).

> "Ignore it. Although she might talk to the child and find out where they are coming from and get their meaning of the word."

> "Blacks have ways of calling names with different connotation. The response would be different."

A verbal retaliation in kind would be expected by 18%:

> "My son would speak his mind."

> "She would call them something back."

> "It's even worse when a Black calls you a nigger."

Fourteen percent would sit down and discuss the event with the child and define how words can be used in many ways.

> "Talk with her about the history of Blacks and where we came from."

Their responses indicated that they were not as sharp within the hypothetical name-calling situation if the name calling was done by a member of their own group.

The parents were then asked what they themselves would do in these two situations. The tendency for them was to ignore the incident whether it was a white (33%) or a Black (45%) child. Secondly, the parents would carefully discuss this event with their child (24% Blacks, 33% whites). However, many more parents would tell their child to respond by hitting if a white called them a name (22%) rather than if done by a Black (1%). They were still sensitive to this racial slur and indicated that they had to respond when it occurred, either by making a conscious effort to ignore it or by retaliation on a physical or verbal level.

Public media portrayal of Black families. The public media, especially the television has a powerful impact on the perceptions members of the larger society have about any one segment of the society. It impinges upon how even members of that segment feel about themselves. Therefore, the accuracy with which the Black family is portrayed is important for it is one media that has tended to ignore Blacks or to perpetuate myths commonly held about Blacks.

The families all tended to feel that Blacks were not portrayed accurately, for 82% expressed this opinion.

> "It tends to make fun of the Black family life."
>
> "The portrayal on TV is still stereotyped comedy."
>
> "They are either Blacks in white faces or exaggerated Black stereotypes. Like Julia, a Barbie Doll dipped in chocolate. Whites write the script."
>
> "They tend to go from one extreme to another (e.g. very poor to very rich). Do not portray the average family."

"The show is usually headed by a big fat mama who is on welfare and the husband is not at home, so the kids have to hustle in the streets to make it. There is not a single show that has just average normal Black families. Even though negative, they should have Blacks on TV. It is important for the children to see them, so that they will see that people do come in different colors and that it does not make a difference, that they are people good and bad."

"Don't think this portrays any family accurately. TV deals with the fantasies more than reality. Fantasies sell more than realities. TV is meant to be for enjoyment."

Only 18% felt that accuracy was evident.

"Recently some of the things portrayed were very ethnic. I feel that the movies have been very exploitive."

"Blacks are portrayed more accurately on TV today compared to years ago. Now presenting everyday situations and biographies of slaves."

In further questioning about whether a positive or negative image was projected, 53% felt that they are almost always presented negatively.

"Because they lack character. It doesn't give the children a positive self-image on what they can become."

"In the long run children might grow up to believe that the TV portrayals are true."

"They don't understand. A sort of brainwashing on the child. Children are influenced more than adults."

"Very few shows depict a complete Black family unit (that is a mother and father) whether it is a situation comedy or drama. The impression conveyed to the white people is that Blacks predominate in one-parent families."

The feeling that a positive image is presented to their children was shared by 25%.

"She has gone to all-white schools and lived in white neighborhoods. She needs to feel able to relate to Blacks just as well as she can to whites. Seeing Blacks on television helps her to relate and feel comfortable."

"She was reared mostly with whites and she hasn't been exposed enough to Black children. TV gives her the opportunity to see how other Blacks live."

"It hasn't always been positive but the industry has become aware."

"It is positive from the standpoint of participation in the media."

An additional group (22%) felt that the TV image had no effect. They felt that it depended upon a particular program or that TV had no effect on their children.

> "The effect on a child will come from the home. TV should have no influence whatsoever."

> "My daughter doesn't look at programs that often."

> "It has no effect because there are not many on. Most of them my child can see are make-believe."

> "He is too young for it to have any effect."

> "TV shows are discussed and they know that its fiction. If they are not discussed may be negative."

Child's needs priority over their own? They were asked to compare the priority needs of their family members. Seventy-five percent felt their children's needs should always be given preference rather than their own.

> "Its their turn. My parents did the same for me. Her needs are basic and material."

> "She is the most important thing in our life and her needs are much more important."

> "Basically the way I was brought up I put my child first and then my wife."

The children's needs would come first usually, but sometimes they would give their own needs priority for 12% of the families.

> "I wish that they didn't sometimes but they do. Having kids restricts your freedom to do what you want at times."

> "I do everything I can for him, but I must take care of myself in order to care for him."

> "It depends on the situation, most times they should. However, about my working I feel guilty, but it is necessary."

> "Sometimes. If they have a program at school and I have something to do I would go to the school. But on the other hand, as a single parent, I don't have the luxury of having their needs come first. I have a job, household, community responsibilities. I also enjoy having a social life. I date, but my children join me in my social life to a great extent."

Preferences if unable to raise their children. The parents were asked what would happen if for some reason, due to death or incapacity, they would be unable to raise their children. The unanimous response was that the children would be taken care of by someone within the family. Both mothers and fathers separately indicated that the parents of the mother would take the children and care for them. If the maternal grandparents were unavailable, then the mother's sibling would substitute. This would tend to indicate a stronger attachment with the mother's family of origin. The third choice would then be the paternal grandparents. When asked if they felt this person would raise their child differently than they would, 49% felt that they would be raised in a similar manner, while 34% felt the grandparents would raise them differently.

The similarity of child rearing would be consistent with the high level of interactions and visiting, that occurs between family members, half of whom tended to live within 30 miles of each other. They had positive attitudes toward this contact and therefore the extensive contact that would tend to eliminate marked differences in child-rearing practices. The preference for internal adoption was consistent with Hill's findings; for the parents appeared startled that institutional or agency-directed care would be considered an alternative.

Egalitarian Marriage Relationship

One characteristic of Black families at all income levels tends to be a blurring between rigid sex roles of mothers and fathers. This has a cultural base and is one of the results of the high level of maternal employment. These two factors in combination have become one of the strong supportive mechanisms that contribute to stability within the family.

Sex appropriate tasks. Both of these mothers (80%) and fathers (75%) were in total agreement that they should share work related to the house and children equally. Only a few (mothers 17%, fathers 18%) felt that the wife should carry more of the burden. Yet there were still jobs within one- and two-parent homes that were assigned to one sex or the other. Therefore, both parents were expected to contribute to the running of the home, in light of the mother's employment outside of the home, but the specific tasks tended to be sex typed. There was not an elimination of male-female roles, but rather a cooperative blending.

When the responses were compared between those born middle class and those born working class, no differences were found on attitudes toward sharing tasks or on agreement that there were male stereotyped jobs. There was a class of origin difference on whether there were jobs reserved for females ($X^2(1) = 3.46$, $p < .057$). Those who were born working class were equally divided on this issue, whereas two-thirds of those who were born middle class felt there should not be a difference in jobs assigned according to sex of the parent. While the majority felt that both should equally share household work, those who were born middle class tended to have more paid household and babysitting help, while for those born working class, the wife tended not to have this extra assistance ($X^2(3) = 7.86$, $p < .05$). Those who had been at middle class level for one or more generations appear to be more relaxed in stereotyping appropriate tasks for women, while there was no class difference in agreeing that certain jobs are reserved for men. Rigidity in sex roles is reportedly one of the characteristics of working class families and this was not supported by the mothers but a tendency existed among the fathers. Rigidity may also appear or reappear when persons are under stress. When the two-parent fathers' responses were examined according to level of stress, no differences in attitudes toward sex stereotyping were found. Fathers who had experienced high and low stress answered in the same manner. Mothers also tended to show no differences in attitudes related to stress except for their response to male stereotyped jobs ($X^2(1) = 6.81$, $p < .01$). More (89%) mothers under low stress felt that men should do only certain jobs than women under high stress (63%), who tended to agree but many (37%) felt otherwise.

Maternal career and mobility. In light of the highly educated mothers who were employed, the parents were asked what would happen if the mother was offered a very good job that would require the family to move. No differences were found associated with SES of origin, stress level, family types or for husband and wife in two-parent homes. There was no clear agreement on this, for 43% of the fathers and 36% of the mothers would have her refuse the job.

> "If the husband's income is adequate, the wife should not even consider taking a job out of town."

> "I would have us sit down and discuss the possibilities of the plans. However, I feel as in the Bible, that women are subject to their husbands."

While 44% of the mothers and 29% of the fathers would try to work something out for the family, some ambivalence was exhibited about such a move.

(M)* "It depends on the job the husband has. If it's not as good as hers, then move. If not, they should discuss it."

(F) "A man's job is more important regardless of what it is, but if anything can be worked out, it can be done."

The choice to move and find a job for the husband would be agreed to by 28% of the fathers and 20% of the mothers, usually with the proviso that the offer would have to be an exceptional one.

*(M) - Mother
(F) - Father

(F) "If I'm in school, I obviously wouldn't go, but if I'm out of school and it's a really beautiful job, I might go. But it really all depends."

(M) "Move family for her if job was a very, very good one. Only if!"

(F) "If it's a fantastic job offer, probably. But if not, have her refuse it."

Many of the couples gave separate responses that showed agreement in thinking about uprooting the family for the wife's career.

(M) "The male makes more money in this family and likes to think of himself as head of the household."

(F) "The man is responsible for taking care of the family. The woman is responsible for caring for the children."

However there were interesting conflicts in the opinions within the same family unit indicating a lack of agreement in the importance of the dual careers or the adaptations that may be necessary.

(M) "If her job is financially a lot more important to the family, then she should accept it."

(F) "That question isn't applicable!"

(M) "They should see how it affects all other members. If favorable, then move the family for her."

(F) "Roots have to be maintained in one place. Therefore since the husband is the breadwinner, the wife will have to refuse the job."

(M) "I feel I haven't become that liberated that I would move the family."

(F) "She should take the job. But I don't know what would happen."

In general the parents feel that the husbands' jobs predominate and that the family should not be disrupted by an advance in the wives' careers, while changes would be made for the fathers. Those who would change locations would do so under very special situations. Consistent with the higher income and job status of the men, the women's jobs were seen as a supplement to that of the main breadwinner of the family.

Shared decision-making patterns. Another measure of the egalitarian relationship can be found on which of the decisions made within the family are made by each parent alone and which ones are made by both of them. Each parent was asked a series of eleven questions that tapped the decision-making actions in a typical family. For each decision, the parents were asked if the father, mother, or both usually make the decision on that particular task, such as the kind of car or insurance to purchase, children's tasks and curfew, or what birth control to use. Total scores were obtained and the frequency of responses to each question were analyzed. To avoid a reporting bias, both parents were asked the same questions. Though each parent was questioned separately, their answers within each two-parent family unit were remarkably similar ($\underline{r}(117) = .34$, $\underline{p} < .0002$). Their responses provided a strong measure of agreement in reporting what must be the actual process of making decisions that occurs.

The possible scores ranged from 11 to 33, with the lower scores indicating that more of the decisions were made by the father, and the higher by the mother. The total fathers' responses resulted in a mean score of 20.47 (SD = 2.95) and the mothers' responses had a mean of 22.48 (SD = 4.25). Both parents reported that the important decisions were made jointly by both of them. The total score cross tabulations were made on the actual responses given by the parents to each question (see Table 12).

Seven of the eleven decisions were clearly shared (parent's jobs, house purchase, child's curfew, birth control, television programs, what to do when someone is ill, and children's jobs), with the majority of the families sharing the decisions on these issues (see Table 13). When a sex-related pattern appeared, it was clear without any doubt on who made these decisions, and that the other parent tended not to be involved. Fathers tended to make the decision regarding car purchases (54% fathers vs. 1% mothers), and insurance plans (49% fathers vs. 6% mothers). Mothers made the sex stereotyped decisions on what foods to purchase (50% mothers vs. 27% fathers). The mothers also clearly made the decision relative to whether or not she would work and not the fathers (51% mothers vs. 7% fathers), but 42% did decide this jointly. Parents who were born middle class and those who were born upper class had almost identical patterns. Differences also were not found between urban and suburban on ten of the eleven questions ($\underline{t}(120) = -.42$, n.s.). The one difference was found on who decides on car purchases. While fathers decided in both sites, more in the city made this decision ($X^2(2) = .254$, $\underline{p} < .05$). As expected, mothers in one-parent homes made significantly more decisions than those in two-parent homes. No differences were found in this joint decision-making pattern between the families in the four mobility patterns, as reported by mothers ($\underline{F}(3,110) = .62$, n.s.), or by fathers ($\underline{F}(3,109) = 4.06$, n.s.) (see Table 12). The only significant difference in decision-making occurred when the families were regrouped into two SES classes. Both groups were in the joint decision-making range, but the upper class families had significantly lower scores (19.84) than those who were middle class (21.03), indicating that in the higher status units more of the decisions were made by the fathers, but they were still within the shared range ($\underline{t}(119) = -.23$, $\underline{p} < .02$).

The overall pattern in all sites was that an egalitarian decision-making mode was used, consistent with that found empirically by Hyman and Reed (1969), and Mack (1974), and as summarized by Hill (1972), and Ladner (1971). The egalitarian pattern appears to be one that is consistent across all SES, demographic and mobility groups. The majority of decisions are shared except in a few sex-typed areas. Maternal employment and shared decision-making has been maintained after mobility, and as a cultural pattern, functions as another source of stability within the families.

External Support Systems

The ecology of the Black family predisposes continuing stress in addition to normal developmental strains experienced by all families. The previously mentioned internal support patterns are able to provide a buffer for the family and its members. However, in spite of the cultural preference for meeting crises and family needs within the extended kin-help network and then from friends, families may often experience stress and lowered personal satisfactions that would require that assistance be sought from the wider community.

Indicators of need for external support. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain a form of measurement of stress and related characteristics and assess family needs to the support services available within the community.

Stressful life events. The stress measurement indicated a high and continuing level of stress for the family members. The majority of the families had experienced significant life changes within the past two years. Based on clinical follow-up, Holmes (1974) had grouped the scores into three categories:

Mild stress (150-199), Moderate stress (200-299), Major stress (300+).

Those in higher stress groups had greater odds on becoming physically or mentally ill within a period of time. The families in this study had stressful life changes that were in the moderate range. Their mean score over two years was 247.93, indicating that the parents were under a good deal of stress. Holmes and Rahe (1974) found that 51% of the individuals in their study within this score range developed a major illness associated with this moderate continuing level of stress. In six months they had experienced stress that would, assuming a continuing amount of stress, average approximately 50-74 points over each six month period for two years. These parents seem to have experienced greater stress than expected. In the previous six months they had experienced a sufficiently high stress level to obtain a mean score of 103.65. The increased level of stress in the past six months is supported by the frequency of stressful events. They reported that they had experienced a mean of 10.96 such events over two years, and 4.98 of them in the past six months.

One-parent homes had experienced more significant life events with greater frequency than two-parent homes. Families that moved into a suburban setting had not experienced more significant life changes than urban families. While the move to suburbia had been made within the past few years, the often related stress of moving and resettling the family did not appear to have resulted in responses higher than those found in the city. No significant demographic differences were found between sites over the past two years (t(159) = -.23, n.s.) or within six months (t(159) = -1.62, n.s.). Nor was there a site difference in the frequency of such events over two years (t(159) = -.589, n.s.), or within six months (t(159) = 1.33, n.s.). Stress appeared to have occurred equally in both sites.

A measurement was made of stress by present SES status. No differences were found on stress of families who were rated as upper class compared to those who were rated middle class status. It was anticipated that stress will be greater for families who were newly mobile than for those who were at this status for several generations, but this was not supported. Those who were newly mobile did not report more stress than others. In fact, they often had lower stress than those with long-term middle class status and the lowest was found in families upwardly mobile each generation. An unexpected reversal was found for stress within six months. Those who were middle class for three generations had a significantly higher stress score ($\underline{F}(3,106) = 2.65$, $\underline{p} < .05$). In only six months they had experienced so much stress ($\underline{M} = 133.24$) that they were almost equivalent to the mild stress range (150-199) of the scale based on the total two years. The next highest stressed were the newly mobile ($\underline{M} = 90.46$), followed with much lower stress in those upwardly mobile for two generations ($\underline{M} = 58.86$) and those mobile in their parents' generation ($\underline{M} = 59.12$) (see Table 14).

The mobility pattern differences on total stress over two years tended to have the same pattern ($\underline{F}(3,106) = 2.58$, $\underline{p} < .057$), with the three-generation stress scores still much higher. Pattern #2 (up each generation) had the lowest score ($\underline{M} = 140.85$) over two years and was similar to the stress score that #4 had experienced in just six months. No significant difference between mobility patterns in frequency of events was found. They were having the same number of stressful events, but those who were middle class for three generations were facing much more intense and potentially traumatic medical events. Those middle class for three generations had experienced greater stress on all four dimensions of stress.

Families were divided into high and low stress groups based on the mean of the total stress score and re-examined on the major variables. There were no income differences between either fathers or mothers in the two groups. There also were no occupational status or present SES differences between the stress groups. Over the past three generations no differences were found in occupation or SES on the fathers' line, but a difference was found in one generation of the mothers' line.

We found that more of the maternal grandmothers of the low stress group

(75%) worked than those mothers (63%) now under high stress. When employed, the maternal grandmothers of low stress families were in significantly higher status managerial jobs (29% vs. 17%) and more were in skilled level jobs, 14% compared to 3% of the higher stressed families ($\chi^2(6) = 12.35$, $p < .02$). We also found that mothers in both groups had similar levels of employment in full and part-time jobs. The present mothers who did not grow up in homes with the role model present of maternal employment may now be experiencing greater stress as economic conditions require them to seek employment.

Stress related to race The Holmes and Rahe scale does not include a dimension for stress associated with racism and discrimination that is a continuing component of the ecology of Black existence. Undoubtedly, an addition of such a scale would have brought these families well into the major stress range, for many of the parents reported that they felt under extra stress because they were Black. They felt that at work insidious and sometimes overt discrimination interfered with their career development. They reported that they continually were forced to act as a buffer between their children and their teachers, persons, and community institutions. They related small events that occurred that in another context were not serious, such as being treated harshly by a storeclerk, but when it became a regular occurrence in many settings it led to feelings of rage.

> "We have had to live under a great deal of stress and uncertainty and poverty. We have been forced to play the role of second class citizens for so long."

Because the association between stress, illness, and reduced life span has been well documented, we asked the parents to respond to the statistic that on the average Blacks die ten years earlier than non-blacks. Only 3%

disagreed with the statement, and 4% had no opinion. The balance of them agreed and gave several reasons that they felt accounted for this differential in life span. The largest response was that the psychological and social pressures of racism in their everyday environment was the greatest contributor to Black stress (38%). The next most frequently mentioned problems related to economic discrimination and poor working conditions (20%) that contribute to a lower living standard. The diet eaten traditionally and at present was considered of next importance (20%). Lack of preventive and emergency medical care (12%) was ranked fourth, and heredity was blamed by 3% (see Table 15).

> "Because of the food we eat and because Blacks face more tension on the job. Blacks have to do twice the work of a white person to get ahead."

No significant differences were found between urban and suburban responses, but the suburban parents tended to be more concerned with discrimination (25%) than those in the city (17%). This could be that because they were living in a more integrated environment they interacted to a greater extent with non-blacks that would expose them to more abrasive attitudes and behavioral cues that could be perceived to be discriminatory. The lack of stress and degree of comfort felt within all-blacks settings is one of the reasons given for preferences for all-black social interactions.

They appeared to feel that forces beyond their control in their environment were the main cause of Blacks having stress and a shorter life expectancy. There often was a sense of powerlessness on the racial issue as expressed by this parent:

> "Cut off expectations. I mean no matter how good you are, you will always be a nigger. Hey, that puts strain on people. I mean you can be smart, have a lot of bread, but you know that you will not be able to give your children or yourself an equal chance and this takes its toll. A lot of really good Blacks, that have a lot on the ball, end up on dope, alcohol, or one thing or another. I mean everyone that I know has one of these problems because of this racist society. Let me tell you, I do not have any hope for the future."

Stress and kin-help exchange. These families were undergoing significant changes in their lives that, when added to the everpresent strain provided by racism, require that a continuing level of internal and external support be provided for them. The strains faced by these families lead to their continued involvement in the cultural pattern of the kin-help system. It would therefore follow that parents undergoing greater stress would be more involved in the kin-help system than those who were under less stress, consistent with the cultural pattern. We found that parents at all levels of stress gave help as frequently and of the same amount to their kin. They also all equally received the same high amount of help from kin. In all cases the kin provided more help than friends or community agencies.

However, the families under high stress appeared to be more dependent on the kin network and interacted more frequently with kin. While high and low stressed families lived similar distances from their relatives, the frequency of contact was much higher ($X^2(5) = 12.12$, $p < .03$). Of the mothers under high stress, 42% saw kin about twice a week, while only 29% of those under low stress interacted that much. Low stressed families tended to see kin about twice a month. Fathers also indicated greater contact with family members. Since the family network is called upon more during stress, they therefore would have greater involvement with kin during that period.

Those of low stress received less help and those high stressed received help in many more areas ($X^2(2) = 7.64$, $p < .02$). The level of low stressed receiving no help was 54% but only 26% for high stress. High stressed (65%) tended to receive more help in two different areas than lower stressed (43%). The real difference in help received was in child care for high stressed.

While both groups have equal maternal employment ($X^2(6) = 10.01$, $p < .03$). A difference in the ages of their children was found. More of those under low stress had more children who were old enough to be in school all day (32 vs. 24% high), and therefore may have needed less child care. One-third of each used paid babysitters. Those of low stress (18%) made greater use of day care and nursery centers than did those of high stress (7%). The high stress (20%) used relatives more than low stress (11%). On social occasions no differences in child care were found, only during employment. Kin assisted more in child care when parents faced significant life changes. The stress of the families may be increased when children are younger, more dependent, and therefore requiring more primary care. The reliance on kin did not appear to be financial need, since both groups had similar income but rather that the care of children was indicative of the care of the kin network for a member in need.

The reciprocal obligations for the kin help did not appear to differ between stress levels for help or money given to them. The mothers under high stress (62%) did feel more obligated than low stress mothers (39%) to help other members of the wider family who were not as fortunate as they were ($X^2(2) = 10.16$, $p < .01$). Because their interaction was more intense, and they had received greater assistance in many areas, the obligations to help those in need were great.

The relationship between stress levels and the help exchange with friends was examined. Both groups gave the same amount and kind of help to friends. The same amount and type had been received from friends. Similar attitudes about friend help were expressed. When asked to evaluate the contacts that they had with their friends, high stress (81%) felt their contact was just right while 39% of the low stress felt their contact was too little with friends ($X^2(2) = 6.61$, $p < .04$). Their attitude towards friend's obligations were similar for mothers, but fathers of high stress felt a greater obligation for help given by friends ($X^2(2) = 7.11$, $p < .02$). The greater frequency of contact of high stress may indicate that there was a greater dependency with friends when undergoing changes. The level of stress for these parents was related to the intensity of involvement with kin, further supporting the concept of a cultural pattern of preference for reliance on kin rather than institutions when in need.

Level of satisfaction. Changes in economic status have been found to be one of the factors that cause stress within the family and threaten family stability. In light of the high rate of mobility that had occurred in their families, the parents' level of social satisfaction was assessed on two levels: Physical satisfaction and social satisfaction.

Social satisfaction. The Standard Happiness Scale that had been repeatedly used in nationwide surveys was used. There may be limitations in using such a small scale for these questions, and the modification in reference to family situations are not as extensive as a longer scale, and may not be sensitive enough to measure specific, sharply defined attitudes. However, the use of this scale to measure global constructs is based on the work of Gurin *et al*. (1960), NORC (1964), Bradburn (1969), Hill (1972) and Harrison (1976). They have been used repeatedly to measure very global attitudes such as marital happiness and life satisfaction in general. Physical satisfaction looked at how the families decided to live in the urban or suburban sites and the specific reasons. It allows us to compare our families with Black and non-black in nationwide samples. Families were asked in general about their level of happiness and their satisfaction with their present family situation.

No urban or suburban differences were found on satisfaction with their life or with their family situation. Fifty-two percent felt that they basically were satisfied and 40% said they were very happy. Only 8% reported that overall they were unhappy. These results are consistent with nationwide surveys for adults in higher status.

These families appeared to be even more satisfied with their family life than they were with life in general. A very high number responded (81%) that they were satisfied with family life. Separately we asked them to tell us what the most positive things were about their family. They felt that the love and concern for each other and the willingness to work was the most positive thing (38%). The next most important was the sense of togetherness, respect for openness felt for each other (33%). They felt positive about their families.

The hypothesis that level of satisfaction with social environment will be higher in families with working class status was not supported by the data from these families. No significant differences were found for all mobility patterns felt positive about their families. The highest level of satisfaction tended to be in Pattern #2, up each generation, where 52% reported as being very happy. Again, this is the group with highest father employment and educational status, and lower maternal employment. At least externally they had the physical and personal resources available to maintain stability.

Physical satisfaction looked at how the families decided to live in comparable sections of the urban or suburban sites and the specific reasons for their last move. We also asked them to compare this setting with where they had lived before. Mothers felt the present neighborhood was better than where they lived before.

The hypothesis that suburban families will have a higher level of satisfaction with their physical environment was not supported. No demographic differences were found on first, second or third choices in moving to their home. The largest first choice response was that the site had been selected because it was close to work (26%), and then because they felt it had good schools (21%). On their second reason for moving the choice was solidly for the school system (29%), supporting the value of education. The third choice for living there was because it was close to churches, recreational and entertainment facilities. Being close to family and friends was not selected as important criteria related to this last move. There also was no difference on their evaluation of their present home to the places they lived before. They all agreed that where they are living is better than where they were before (74%).

The hypothesis that the level of physical satisfaction will be higher in families with working class status was not supported for no differences were found between the mobility patterns. Again they all moved for job convenience and education for their children and felt this location was better than before where they were. The pattern where parents were mobile had the most satisfied responses (83%). The three generation pattern had fewer (59%) with 24% feeling it was about the same. In other words, they had lived in middle class areas before and this was no better or worse. In general the parents were satisfied with their lot and had moved to meet their children's needs.

Family supportive needs. The ecology of the Black family predisposes continuing stress with little chance of changing; therefore, all of the family's internal cultural supports will continue to be functional and depended upon. Because their kin are in even more vulnerable situations and will not always be able to provide the needed support, external programs will need to be provided. For this reason the parents' utilization of and attitudes toward existing programs were explored, along with the kind of support they would like to have in light of their families' present situation and the stress they have faced in the immediate past.

In light of the high rate of mobility, change, and stressful events these families had experienced in the past few years, we asked them to consider how they had handled problems in the past and what external support they needed from outside agencies. We asked them to think for a minute about the crises they had faced in the past few years and tell us how they were met. When crises occur, the majority of the families went first to their family and discussed it, and then they made a decision (62%). The second most frequent response was to "think about it myself, stay calm, and do what was needed" (23%). Five percent indicated that they would get outside help. Only one family indicated they were unable to cope and one said they go to nobody outside of the family. Nine percent indicated that their family had not met a crisis.

Both suburban and urban families had similar reactions in going to the family first for help. More of the suburban families (30%) worked out their problems by themselves, as compared to the urban ones (18%). More urban (7%) got outside help than suburban (2%). The suburban families, all of whom had lived there only a few years, had faced crises but 15% of the urban families, who had been established for nine or more years, had not faced a crisis. The family network system had helped most in crises, followed by taking the situation in one's own hands. Fewer urban families had faced crises, and tended to be more willing to seek outside help.

Agency Utilization

Help in the past. Earlier, they had indicated that the wider family was of greater support than friends or community agencies. However, the subjects were asked to identify what community agencies had been the most helpful to them. The agency cited was not a provider of social or medical services, but was, instead, the public library. Continually the parents mentioned the library as being the most supportive. This was true of one- and two-parent homes, urban and suburban, and those born middle class or working class. Other agencies were mentioned but infrequently. While an unexpected response, it is understandable in light of the high educational aspirations they held for their children and the value placed on education. It also reflects the fact that the family and not agencies was the source of aid when in need. Therefore, they went outside for information and then handled problems internally. The next most frequently mentioned were the public services of police, firemen, and then counseling and recreation.

Preferred Supportive Social Service Programs

The families were then asked to indicate what supportive service needs that they may have that are not presently being met and should be improved in order to be supportive of their family's functioning. Each parent was given a list of thirteen different services and types of counseling help that may be needed by the family, covering all of the services usually found across community agencies. For each they were asked if this service was needed and then a probe was made of the answers to get examples of when or how they were used and why it was needed. Their responses were then ranked on the basis of percentages of parents who responded that such programs were needed.

Ranked by parent, sex and family type. The responses to most needed services were divided into three family types by sex groups: One-parent mother, two-parent mother, and two-parent father, and ranked for each one (see Table 16). No significant differences were found between the two-parent mother and father as a group on any one particular item. While the three groups all ranked the services differently, job placement assistance was of top concern for all. However, job training was of low concern. The parents had received skills and advanced education and were interested in receiving jobs commensurate with their training. When the top-ranked four items were examined, the one-parent mother and two-parent fathers were similar. They both listed transportation and child care as being of top priority, items of lower concern to two-parent mothers. The importance of their career for these two groups would require that transportation was of major concern. Both mother groups did show a strong preference for receiving information on activities in the community that were of special interest to Blacks, a lower priority of the fathers. This would be consistent with the mother's role as organizer of the family activities and would agree with her reported greater involvement in all-Black organizations and activities.

The fathers did rank counseling services for their children as being the top priority, while both mothers gave it a lower rank. The mothers may be more familiar with normal developmental behavior of the children and would see outside assistance as not being needed as much as the fathers. Health was a low priority for all three. Mothers of both family types were less interested in receiving personal therapy than the fathers.

Two-parent families were examined on the impact of stress level on the needed services. There were no differences found on 12 of the 13 services. The one associated with stress existed on the need for child care $(X^2(1) = 4.46,\ \underline{p} < .03)$. Families that had faced high stress needed child care more and had younger children than those under low stress.

Ranked by demography. The service needs of both family types were combined and re-examined by demographic location.

Suburban

Rank			%
1	Counseling		83
	Financial/Legal	29	
	Child/Youth	24	
	All needed	24	
	Marital	16	
	Personal	7	
		100%	
2	Transportation		63
3	Job Placement		61
4	Com.inf.on Blacks		49
5	Recreation		43
6	Child Care		41
7	Job Training		38
8	Education		37
9	Health Care		31

Urban

Rank			%
1	Counseling		64
	All needed	29	
	Child/Youth	23	
	Marital	22	
	Personal	15	
	Fin./Legal	12	
		101%	
2	Recreation		61
3	Child Care		55
4	Education		53
5	Job Placement		52
6	Com.inf.on Blacks		44
7	Health Care		43
8	Public Transportation		42
9	Job Training		39

Of the twelve types of family supports offered, the type needed most in both of the communities was counseling. Suburban families indicated a greater need when 83% of suburban and 64% of urban families indicated that this support was needed. While counseling was needed in both sites, the type of counseling needs differed. The highest suburban need was for financial and legal help (29%), followed by counseling for their children, with indications that all other types were also needed. The highest urban need was for child therapy (23%) and then marital help (22%). The urban need for marital and personal counseling was higher than in the suburbs. All parents wanted counseling for their youth that was sensitive to their unique problems, in addition to the normal concerns of sexuality and drugs. Parents wanted the children to receive this aid without having to let the parents know they were seeking this help. Their responses did not differ significantly between parents born working class or middle class on all service types.

Financial and legal needs were high, especially in the suburbs. The high mortgages, commuting and child care cost, and inflation were causing personal and marital strain. These families were well above the national median income, but had not received instructions as they were growing up in working class homes, and therefore needed help in financial planning. They knew they needed to make legal arrangements for the family (wills, trusts, etc.) but seemed not to know where to begin.

Public transportation. Suburban concern (63%) was much greater than urban (42%). Transportation was a great suburban problem, for the majority worked in nearby urban centers and felt the strong need for efficient and convenient public transportation.

Recreation. This was an area of greater urban (61%) concern than to suburban parents (43%). The suburban children have many well-supervised activities, but parents felt the cost was too high. They also wanted Black recreational clubs. Urban parents felt their children were often unsupervised after school and that more youth programs were needed.

Child care. This again was a more urban concern (55%) than suburban (42%), even though mothers were employed in both sites and suburban mothers often had long commuting times. Quality preschool and after school care were needed closer to home. The suburban mothers felt they had very good facilities, but they were too expensive, and they also needed better before and after school child care. The parents were not dependent upon relatives for child care, but used private centers. Families under high stress needed more child care.

Education. The suburban families felt they had good schools, for only 37% said better services were needed, while 53% of the urban families listed this as a major concern. These urban parents were very concerned about the education being received, and many felt the public education was poor. Many had moved to get into better schools, but were dissatisfied. Some had resorted to private schools, that were predominantly non-black, and they still were not satisfied. While the instructional programs may be sufficient, and in some cases excellent, the parents felt the teachers had lowered expectations for the Black children, and treated their children differently in many subtle and sometimes overt ways. The result was a lowered motivation to achieve, lowered self-esteem, and an eventual lowering of educational goals.

Several mentioned wistfully the education that they, themselves, had received in all-Black, segregated schools, both in the North and the South, and said that they felt they were better prepared for college than their offspring, and that they had been given the drive to excel that is missing today. They felt that formerly there was a stronger link between the home and school in seeing education as the only means for survival and mobility.

Job placement. This was considered the third most needed suburban service (61%) and the fifth urban (52%). The need for job training (urban 39%, suburban 38%) was not as high as job placement for both the adults and youth. The need for help in getting proper placement, but not training, is consistent with our findings and earlier ones that, because of occupational discrimination, the Black adult is often underemployed in relation to his actual education. This problem was still salient, even for Blacks, at their comfortable economic level.

Community information especially for Blacks. This was a need expressed in both sites, slightly higher in the suburbs (49%) than in the urban center (44%). In the city the parents indicated that they were reluctant to seek help, but they wanted to be supportive of Blacks and their activities. They felt a strong need to know more about their rights.

The suburban need for social networks appeared stronger and different than in the city. Because of the open housing patterns, Blacks were not concentrated in any one area. They were often unable to find out about events and Black activities. Mention was made of a Black welcome wagon type mechanism that would greet newcomers. They felt this would pull them together and give a greater sense of community.

Health care. Concern for health was higher in the urban site (43%) than suburban (31%). The suburban health maintenance plan and expanding hospital provided services that were adequate and sufficient. They were concerned with the expense but indicated that adequate care was available.

Overall, the basic needs (education, health, and recreation) of the suburban families were met more adequately than in the urban center. Urban families had more problems meeting these basic needs but transportation was adequate and involvement within the social Black community networks was easier. They exhibited a need for greater personal and marital counseling. In the suburbs, maternal employment is facilitated with sufficient child care. All of these support facilities that are adequate but are judged to be too expensive, contributing to the great need for financial counseling and resulting personal stress. Youth counseling and job placement are prime needs, while transportation is a real concern. The suburban families exhibit a need for a closer involvement in the Black community and tend to feel isolated in the white community. The parents indicated a desire for outside help and appear to be willing to use the assistance if it was made available in a manner that was comfortable for them. Their desire for support conflicts with their low utilization of existing services. They only appeared to rely on the library regularly, and then upon the institutional services of fire, police and clincs. It would appear that these middle income Black families are expressing a clear need for supportive counseling that is not being met by the community. Services are available in the community but they apparently are not being used by these parents.

Because of the need for counseling services mentioned by so many parents, we asked if the race of the counselor was important. Race was important for 48% who said yes, with a marked difference found between the two sites. The race of the counselor was not as important in the urban center, but race was particularly salient for suburban families. The families living in a majority white environment appear to be more sensitive to this issue than those in a predominantly Black setting. They preferred not to discuss their personal concerns with a white counselor, but few Black counselors were located in the area. Many parents felt that they could relate better to a Black and that a white counselor would not be sensitive to the special stresses faced by them and their children. Responses were given strongly representing both views.

The race of the counselor was not an important issue for those in the urban site as much as it was for those in the suburbs.

> "No! If you believe in the equality of man. I could be as close a friend to a white, as to a Black."

> "We've been through all that and it didn't matter. I had a counselor who was a white woman, she was excellent."

> "I would probably choose someone who was recommended and consider his ability and location as far as transportation is concerned."

> "Blacks don't treat you any better than whites."

> "For me, no. Research studies say both yes and no. I work as a psychologist and I have had success with both parents in an educational program. Blacks come only once and don't return. We have some theories about why they don't return (ashamed?). Black examiners with Black subjects came out with higher results."

The race of the counselor was an important issue for some urban and most suburban parents.

> "Communication can be a problem."

> "To talk to a Black counselor you feel free and know that they understand or have gone through some of the same things."

> "He can relate better to you if he knows the problems of Black person living in suburbia."

> "Half of the problems we have are caused by the white man. How can he understand what he means to me?!"

> "We need Blacks because whites are always helping from a white outlook. (Local agency) only puts Blacks in desk typing jobs. The counselors turn off so many Blacks. It is because they are probably racist."

> "It would depend on what sort of counseling is being provided. Like financial counseling to low-income Blacks ... they would feel a Black counselor knows what they are talking about."

> "The color of a counselor makes a difference in all areas. Whites do not understand poverty. You tell a white you are broke and they think that you have money in the bank. Blacks would understand that you have nothing!"

> "Race matters in marriage counseling. Whites don't understand Black family backgrounds. The same goes for children and personal therapy. But Blacks understand whites better."

Another view expressed in racial preference was fear of running into the Black therapist socially.

> "The color of a therapist would bother me because the Black middle class society is so small. I would not want a Black psychologist for I would probably be socially involved with this person. I would probably see this person there and would feel uncomfortable."

> "I would rather have a white or other color for chances of meeting them at a social gathering would be slim."

While there was no consensus on preference for the race of the counselor, it appears that it is an issue that must be taken into consideration in planning programs and staffing that would encourage the families to seek out the help that they indicate is needed.

Support provided by project. One of the unanticipated accomplishments of the project was that this office and our staff became an informal resource center for families who are seeking referrals or information on services within the metropolitan community. Families in Washington and Columbia, who had been interviewed by us, felt they knew us and later called for information. Others in the community had heard that a group of Black researchers were doing work on the family and assumed we were providing counseling.

There have been repeated requests by parents for us to provide counseling directly, or to talk to them and to make referrals to Black psychiatrists or social workers. People have come in off the street, unrelated to the project, asking for help. Often at the end of interviews parents would ask for specific help or for referrals. Therefore each interviewer was given lists of local services and agencies in both sites to share with the parents. As the result of several requests, lists of suburban and urban minority practitioners were developed and provided by the director when requested by the parents. Interviewers had to be instructed not to become involved in providing counseling for the parents. They were told to have the parents contact the project staff if they had questions.

Our staff could not become involved in therapy with individuals, although two are certified for private practice and two others had advanced counseling and psychology degrees. We have, instead, talked with the parents, done crises intervention, and when needed allowed ventilation of anger and frustration. We have helped the parents by referring them, while we had to continue to concentrate on our data collection. When asked by parents, we have personally contacted professionals, agencies and clinics where needed, to make referrals. Because of confidentiality, no follow up could be made.

The need for family counseling is very evident, and supports one of the major findings of the social service needs report. Our office served the function of liaison between families and agency resources and facilitated entry into the available supportive services of the community.

An additional involvement of the project and staff has been the continuing support and meeting space provided for Black Family Life, Inc. That organization grew out of needs of Blacks in Howard County found in a report made a year ago by The Family Life Center, written by Jean Toomer. That report resulted in a new group forming that has since become incorporated. Our project has supported Black Family Life because many of the referral functions we have been performing informally will be met by this group, whose main purpose will be to open an office that would be a resource and information center for Black families.

In summary, our main finding on family needs was that the Black families preferred not to seek outside help for cultural reasons and because they felt community agencies were unsympathetic to their unique stresses. External support from existing community agencies appear to be requested only after no internal solution could be found. The parents indicated that their ideal family support systems would involve an extensive counseling program for both personal, marital and financial matters. Concerns exist about their children and the need for job placement for male and female heads of household. The needs of the families differed depending on urban and suburban residence. Urban families need more help in meeting their family's basic needs of health, education, recreation and child care but were comfortable in a predominantly Black environment. Suburban families have more of these resources available but were under financial strain and appeared to be reacting to their minority status by seeking greater involvement with a social cultural community and are more sensitive to the race of the provider of these services. Agencies should also be sensitive to differences in preferences of race of the counselor and provide the necessary alternatives of both Black and white staff. Policymakers and program planners will need to be sensitive to demographic differences and allow program sensitivity and flexibility to meet their unique needs. The external network of family support systems will require the coordination of many agencies. They need to augment rather than replace the help exchange, to allow families to provide for their own supportive needs.

Conclusions

Summary of Family Data

These families were high achievers who valued education, were under a continuing moderate degree of stress, and were acutely aware of the impact of racism on their lives and on their children. The families who had been upwardly mobile in each of the generations had parents with the highest educational and occupational status, the lowest maternal employment, and the highest level of satisfaction with their lives. They apparently had more human and financial resources available to their domestic unit.

Educational achievement tends to peak in the generation in which the family moves to middle income status; it is maintained in the second generation and tends to decline in the third generation. The third generation units had the lowest educational and occupational status, and in several cases had moved to a lower SES status than their parents. The intense motivation to achieve appears to lessen the longer the family is more economically stable. The decrease in the need to move out of abject poverty and the protectiveness reported by all of the parents, may allow the third generation to make choices more consistent with their interest rather than from economic necessity. This decrease in apparent educational aspiration was not supported by the parents, the majority of whom were newly mobile. As in Aschenbrenner's work, education was the only hope for remaining above poverty. They intensely viewed education as the only resource of protection open for Blacks equally for boys and girls. However, they were well aware that education was only a buffer in a hostile environment and that discrimination, not their own abilities, would be the limiting factor in their family's stability.

The coping strategies used to protect the unit in a hostile ecological setting (kin-help exchange, shared parenting, decision-making, and maternal employment), were all operational for these families. These cultural patterns had not been eliminated when the Black family became mobile, but had contributed to the maintenance of its achievements. The extended kin exchange patterns had continued with more help being provided to those in poorer situations. They felt positive about their relationship, it was not a burden. Only the most recently mobile felt pressured to provide aid to family members.

Maternal employment of the subjects was high in the families, but was lower in the subgroup that was mobile in each of the three generations. The highest level of employment was in the units that were middle class for the second generation. This particular group had been raised by women who also tended to work more than the other three groups. Contrary to expectations, the grandmothers did not work outside of the home, except for the group that did become mobile in their generation. In the grandparent's generation, maternal employment clearly was associated with mobility of the family. Grandmothers did not work in the generation before or after mobility. Yet all of the mothers tended to work, a reflection of the loss of earning power of the Black unit. Mothers in lower stress tended to be the offspring of employed mothers who may have provided the role model effective now for homes with dual employment. They also had children who tended to be older.

Parents are still being forced to provide conflicting messages to their children in relation to the American dream, i.e., "If you do well in school and work hard, doors will open for you (however since you are Black, some doors will be opened only reluctantly and you may never be able to fully enter, regardless of your ability)." They, therefore, tend to be more protective of their children and act as a buffer to help the child develop his potential while maintaining his feelings of self-worth.

The preservation of Black culture, through their family's history and information on the saga of Blacks in the African and American continent, are seen worthy of special effort on their part. They feel that this element of their culture is ignored for the most part by schools and the media and that it is too important an element to allow to disappear. Lower stressed parents were more active in all-Black activities. The parents appear to be attempting to maintain a balance between their aspirations of upward mobility and economic stability, while not electing the option of total assimilation into the dominant culture. No particularly racial ideology appears dominant. They have developed a positive sense of the value for their diverse African-American experiences that in toto form the American Black culture. This ethnicity has been denied Blacks by the dominant culture that has no difficulty in recognizing the validity of ethnicity in other groups.

In spite of their stress and the frequency of changes in their lives, they exhibited an overall level of satisfaction with their life situations and were very pleased with their family situations. They were aware of the limits placed on them personally by discrimination and had no expectation that this situation would change in the next few generations, if ever. They felt that they had achieved against great odds and therefore felt a degree of satisfaction with their lot, especially in relation to their reference group of the wider Black community.

Although the family support system was providing physical and emotional support as the families were mobile, and was the preferred source of help, they were facing strains for which external supports were needed. The personal and financial strains they were under led them to desire several forms of personal and financial counseling that were not perceived as being present in their communities. They wanted competent services, sensitive to the unique strains brought by omnipresent racism, and had a strong preference for services being provided by persons from similar cultural backgrounds. Many such services were available, but the families tended not to feel comfortable with them, and therefore utilization was low.

Theoretical Issues

The results from these parents indicate that this middle income group, unlike McQueen's working class sample and Stack's poverty sample, did not have to pull away from the reciprocal obligations of their extended kin-help network in order to realize their own mobility goals. Families in more vulnerable strata would be unable to meet their own needs and those of the families and may have to separate, at least during the period of mobility. These parents continued their close interaction and help exchange pattern before, during, and after mobility. Many felt that they would have been unable to obtain their education without extensive kin help and therefore do not feel that the reciprocal obligations are excessive. The cultural pattern is not only associated with poor economic status but is maintained after entrance into more secure status, because of the lack of wider community support, it still performs a valuable supportive function for the families. Our data support the view of Hill, Billingsley, Stack and Aschenbrenner who have pointed out that the extended family pattern is not just a structural coping tactic but has evolved into a strong valuable cultural pattern. The assistance for kin in education and the strong involvement of family members in career choices are components of the kin-help patterns.

The importance of the kinship network was shown by the increase in interaction and help received by families under high stress. Stress is alleviated to an extent when shared over the network. It also means that nuclear units in return, will keep their resources open to share the stress of other kin. The culture supports the survival of the total family rather than focusing on individualistic concerns to the exclusion of others. As Aschenbrenner suggests, the primary criterion of family strength is the kinship network and not only on the husband and wife nuclear unit as found in the dominant family patterns.

The view of Black family "strengths" cannot be romanticized out of context, for the diversity within the Black family results in a variety of coping effectiveness. However, because of the obstables placed in the way of Blacks, mere survival has often called upon internal resources that do not need to be tapped by the majority of American families. By necessity, internal supports draw on individuals beyond the typical Black nuclear family that encompasses kin and friends who become as kin.

This investigation of upwardly mobile and stable Black families did not support the contention that with adequate income and security, the elements of race no longer are salient. As presented in the review, the element of unique Afro-American culture transcends economics. It continues to be a viable cultural component of emotional well-being at all levels. Authors who have found that Black culture disappears as income increases have been focusing on economic class variables rather than ethnic differences. There is a tendency to confuse the issues of SES status and race in the literature as writers have only viewed one strata within the Black community.

Maternal employment and dual career families are an intimate component of Black stability and becomes the only available supplement of the income of the father, who consistently has been paid less than his non-black counterpart. However, while contributing financially, maternal employment does remove some emotional and temporal resources from the family. Parents increasingly are having difficulties in finding suitable stable and nurturing parent substitutes. Parents are often forced to make choices between economic stability and their primary concern of care of their children. While more serious at lower income levels, even these families are having difficulty in obtaining quality supportive programs for children. Community support programs of child care during and after school and in event of illness, public transportation, and domestic assistance at livable wages must be made available. Maternal employment requires that the child must be provided for but it should not be at costs prohibitive to the family unit that would offset the lower female income. Public transportation is essential for often families are not living in concentrated areas of the inner city and efficient, dependable public transportation should be made available to facilitate employment. During this period of increasing prices for fuel, and fear of pollution, this supportive service will become even more crucial.

The areas of support developed by Black families will probably be the very types of internal support that will need to be developed, in a culturally compatible manner, within the mainstream families: Maternal employment and dual careers, shared child rearing, and shared decision-making. Many other

American families are adopting and developing life-styles and parenting approaches that are similar to those that have been present in the Black community. These changes have been brought about by increasing divorce, inflation and employment of both parents of young children. Black families have managed to sustain their families under pressures now being shared by a growing number of families.

Policy and Service Delivery Issues

The implications from these data for program designers and at the policy level are that services are sorely needed by this most privileged of Black groups and that their needs will differ in important dimensions from that of non-blacks. Services must not be in conflict to the cultural patterns and preferences of the families. The very strong preference for internal support systems would dictate that external supports should augment rather than attempt to substitute for the existing family support patterns that have existed for generations.

Findings from this study will provide a balance for other research findings that were designed under a pathological view of the Black family. Along with the practical implications and benefits gathered from these findings, one of the unique contributions is provision of data on functioning Black families. Little research of this kind has been conducted on Blacks who have experienced mobility in this or earlier generations. Therefore, the need was great for data, to allow for the conscientious development of policies for family support that would facilitate the development of community support programs for Black and non-black mobile families. Data will be provided to those persons who set policy and priorities, and who appropriate funds for programs that directly impact minority families. It is crucial that they be provided with objective and sensitive data upon which they will make the crucial decisions that will impact the family and especially the nurturant needs of children. The diversity of opinion and experiences again support evidence that while cultural cohesion within Blacks is strong, no one portrayal can accurately be considered to be "the Black family." The diversity of life-styles, values and approaches to child rearing require a diversity of programs to meet their needs. Stereotypic summaries presented in the empirical and conceptual literature are not able to be supported when examined in light of the data obtained from these families. Individual differences in preference of the race of the provider of services is an example of this diversity. Alternative programs and staff should be available to meet the variety of needs. The strong suburban need for Black professionals and the availability of the same in the city, indicates a need for an increase in mental health and medical practitioners who are members of minority groups and for those who have experience with and sensitivity to Blacks and other minority values, life-styles and frustrations. The nationwide decrease in such practicioners will cause an even greater need for paraprofessionals and professionals who are sensitive to the concerns of Black families. Resources must be made available to train and maintain the persons who would be able to augment the preference of self help in a culturally sensitive manner.

However, the presence of family help systems must not be used as an excuse to not provide services to these families. There is a danger in the feeling that the kin-help system will provide for these needs, because this does not coincide with harsh financial realities of the poorer families and uncertainties of families with higher incomes. Persons who set policy may attempt to avoid adequate planning and administraion of programs in adoptions, child care, and counseling, under the excuse that the extended family system of Blacks must not be tampered with. To do so is an avoidance of responsibility, for as the data from this study indicates, the family would prefer to meet their needs internally but are under stress to such a degree that there is an acute need for intervention of external support into the ecology of the Black family.

Dissemination

Field Seminar

One of the major dissemination efforts was the day-long field seminar that was held in the summer of 1977. The objective of the seminar was to allow immediate feedback to the very agencies who are present in the communities and in a position to provide external supportive services to the families. One criticism of social science research is that the persons who are in a position to implement findings are never provided with research results. By this design we attempted to make the needs of the parents known to the agencies and to provide an open forum for discussion between service providers, parents and researchers.

The overall objective was to enable each professional to relate to the data on mobility patterns, internal and external support patterns, and to examine their agency's programs and policies. Participants were invited from public and private agencies from Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Howard County, Maryland. A variety of agencies were invited that provided the range of services mentioned by the parents (see Appendix for outline and list of participating agencies and institutions).

Several parent participants from both sites were invited to come and share their opinions with the agency personnel. As participants, the parents were informed that they would be identifying themselves as participants in the project. Those who attended agreed to be so identified.

Three reactors were invited to respond to the results from the point of view of their institutions. Reactors represented both sites, public and private agencies, and practioners and educators of social service. They were asked to freely critique the results and to explore implications the findings may have for their institution and the wider profession.

The entire day was an exciting experience of lively dialogue between all participants. The results were presented and questions answered and then three discussion groups were formed with a reactor and parent included in each. Both parents and agency personnel, who were of many ethnic groups, were able to identify closely with the parent data and examined the results in light of their agency's programs. Parents were very open and professionals were very receptive to their views.

An anonymous feedback evaluation form was given to each participant to provide feedback to the project staff on content and format of the seminar. In the overall reaction to the seminar, 71% felt the seminar was excellent and 29% felt it was a good experience. All felt the data were clearly presented and that it was well organized. In relation to the information they obtained that could be useful to their agency, 86% felt they had gained a great deal, and 14% felt that they had learned some information that could be implemented by their home institution.

We asked them to specify the information relevant to their agency. The most frequently mentioned comment related to the need for a re-evaluation of their service delivery systems and the methods that are used to reach out to families. They next wanted further information on stress factors and economic pressures impacting middle class Black families. The agencies wanted a detailed list of the mental health needs and services so they might attempt to meet them. They mentioned a need for more sensitivity to parental pride of upwardly mobile Black families and the need to sensitize staff to issues important to this population. The presentation of facts would help erase myths and stereotypes and was seen as an important outcome of the seminar. Several comments were given about new awareness of the vitality of the extended family and its usefulness as a support system.

Publications and Presentations

Results from the project have been widely disseminated to the lay and professional community by the principal investigator.

McAdoo, H., "The Extended Family," The Journal of Afro-American Issues, Fall, 1975, Vol. III (3&4), 291-96.

McAdoo, H., "Family Therapy in the Black Community," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, January 1977, Vol. 47, 75-79.

McAdoo, H., "Minority Families," J. Stevens & M. Mathews (Eds.) Mother/Child, Father/Child Relationships, National Association of Education of Young Children, February 1978.

Three articles have been accepted for publication:

Components of Educational Achievement and Mobility in Black Families, Integrated Education

The Father's Role in Mobility within Black Families, Journal of Afro-American Issues

Kin-help Systems in Middle Class Black Families, article accepted for book, Single Parent Black Families and Extended Kin Helper System, J. Steward & J. Scott (Eds.), University of Notre Dame Press, Winter, 1978.

Papers have been presented by the principal investigator and workshops have been chaired and conducted by the project staff at the following national conferences:

Association of Black Psychologists, Chicago, August 1976 (Workshop)

National Council on Family Relations, New York, October 1976

Long Island Mental Health Services, New York, December 1976

Toward the Competent Parent Conference, Georgia State University, February 1977

National Conference on Black Families, University of Louisville, March 1977

Society for Research in Child Development, New Orleans, March 1977

American Educational Research Association, New York, April 1977

American Orthopsychiatric Association, New York, April 1977 (Workshop)

Groves Family Conference, Grossinger's, New York, May 1977 (Family workshop)

Association of Black Psychologists, San Francisco, August 1977

Conference on Research Perspectives in the Ecology of Human Development Cornell University, August 1977, chaired by Urie Bronfenbrenner. The principal investigator was one of 20 senior researchers drawn from five countries invited to participate.

National Urban League, Chicago, November 1977.

Papers to be presented:

National Council on Social Welfare, New Orleans, 1978

Symposium on Family Therapy Practice, Antioch College, 1978.

The principal investigator was on the Board of Consultants and appeared in the Mothers and Fathers filmstrip series of Parent Magazine, Inc., released in the Fall of 1977. Findings from the project were put into film narrative.

A major feature article appeared in the Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine, August 21, 1977 (see Appendix).

Articles of the research results have appeared in the Columbia Flier and Columbia Times (see Appendix).

Consultants

Each of these consultants has been very generous of his time. Each has come to the office and has discussed his/her work with the staff, and has been continually involved with each stage of the project. Meetings have also been held in their institutions to make use of their resources. Reaction tapes have been made by them to the various preliminary reports and papers presented at professional conferences. Their comments have been incorporated into subsequent papers. They have received numerous phone calls, and specific questions by mail, and have always responded. The active involvement of Billingsley, McQueen, and Stack has had a great deal of impact on the study. The principal investigator looks forward to a continuing provocative relationship with each of them.

Andrew Billingsley, Ph.D., sociologist, author of Black Families in White America and Children of the Storm

Albert McQueen, Ph.D., sociologist, professor, Oberlin College

Carol Stack, Ph.D., anthropologist, professor, Duke University, author of All My Children

Joseph Teresa, Ph.D., statistician, Bureau of Educational Statistics, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education & Welfare

Outside Readers

Experience has shown that, in addition to the consultants, input from experienced researchers in the same field, who are not related to the project, are an invaluable resource. Their comments can be very enlightening and provide a balance of perspective. We are pleased that some of the major writers and researchers in the country on the Black family agreed to be Outside Readers for this project.

Joyce Aschenbrenner, Ph.D., author of Lifelines, Black Families in Chicago

Amy Billingsley, researcher, Morgan State University

Algea Harrison, Ph.D., psychologist, Oakland University concentrating on sex role models in Black women

Jerold Heiss, Ph.D., author of The Case of the Black Family, A Socological Inquiry

Robert Hill, Ph.D., author of Strengths of Black Families

Ruth McKay, Ph.D., anthropologist, George Washington University, conducted research on elite Black families 20 years ago in Baltimore

Wade Nobles, Ph.D., Director, OCD Black Family Research Project, California

Marie Peters, Ph.D., University of Connecticut School of Ecology researcher on Black families

Robert Staples, Ph.D., author of The Black Woman in America

Advisory Board

The project has established an Advisory Board made up of community members and agency representatives. Columbia Research Systems, Inc., is a community-based group and places high emphasis on community support. All projects at CRS have an Advisory Board that acts as an outside sounding board and feedback mechanism from the community. Participants were selected to represent a variety of ethnic groups, professions, and residents. One or two parents from each sample of each project also sit on the Board.

This committee met regularly with the project staff for the following purposes:

To assist in legitimizing the research
To provide an ongoing link for dissemination of findings back into the community
To assist in ways of utilizing the research findings as a data base for relevant community programs
To provide an ongoing feedback mechanism from the community concerning the research.

Members of the Board were:

Reverend John Holland, Minister, Chairman, Black Family Life, Inc.
Maizella McCoy, Columbia parent, Black participant
Patricia Newby, Principal, elementary school, Montgomery County
Charles Simpkinson, Ph.D., Clinical Psychologist, Department of Health, Montgomery County
Harriet Tootle, R.N., Baltimore Planned Parenthood Association
Miriam Were, M.D., Pediatrician, University of Nairobi, Medical Professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health while studying in the United States.

Recipients of report. A list of recipients who will receive copies of the final report has been generated to include both local and national individuals and organizations. This list will be expanded with assistance from the Advisory Committee. The following persons will receive a short summary report of findings:

(1) Each family participating in the project.
(2) Community groups providing support, participants, and advertising: social and fraternal organizations, churches, Women's Center.
(3) Professional organizations providing various services to the families: local school boards, local medical organizations, family planning centers.

A detailed final report on family support needs will go to the social service agencies that are now offering family assistance:

(1) Family Life Center
(2) Women's Resource File
(3) Parent and Child, Inc., Washington, D.C.
(4) Baltimore Department of Social Services
(5) District of Columbia Department of Human Resources
(6) Commissioners of Health, Education and Welfare within Washington, D.C., Howard and Montgomery Counties, and Columbia, Maryland
(7) Children's Hospital, Washington, D.C.
(8) Columbia Medical Plan, Pediatric and Psychiatric Units

Reports will be sent to all consultants working with the staff, to members of the Advisory Board and to professional persons contacting the project staff. Copies of the final report will be placed in the local library.

Table 1

Frequency Distribution of Sample by Demography, Family Type, Sex and Marital Status of Head of Household, and Family Structure

	Urban		Suburban		Total	
Group	f	%	f	%	f	%
Demography Total	88	49	90	51	178	100
Parents interviewed						
Mothers	87	56	87	58	174	57
Fathers	68	44	63	42	131	43
Total	155	100%	150	100%	305	100%
Sample						
Two-parent units	68	77	60	67	128	72
One-parent unit	20	23	30	33	50	28
Total	88	100%	90	100%	178	100%
One-parent units						
Mother as head	19	95	27	90	46	93
Father as head	1	5	3	10	4	7
Total	20	100%	30	100%	50	100%

Marital Status	Mothers		Fathers		Total	
One-parent Head	f	%	f	%	f	%
Divorced	21	46	3	75	24	48
Separated	17	37	1	25	18	36
Single	5	11	-	-	5	10
Widowed	3	6	-	-	3	6
Total	46	100%	4	100%	50	100%

Table 2

Frequency Distribution of Structure[1] of Present Family by Demography and Structure of Family of Orientation by Family Type and Sex of Head of Household

Structure of Present Family

Family Type	Structure	Defined	Urban f	Urban %	Suburban f	Suburban %	Total f	Total %
2-parent	Simple nuclear	Parents, children	66	97	55	92	121	95
	Simple extended	Parents, children, rel.	2	3	3	5	5	4
	Augmented nuclear	Parents, children, non-relatives	-	-	2	3	2	2
			68	100	60	100	128	101
1-parent	Attenuated nuclear	Parent, children	16	80	28	93	44	88
	Atten. extended	Parent, children, rel.	3	15	2	7	5	10
	Augmented atten. nuclear	Parent, children, non-relatives	1	5	-	-	1	2
			20	100	30	100	50	100
		Total nuclear units	82	93	83	92	165	93
		Total extended units	5	6	5	6	10	6
		Total augmented	1	1	2	2	3	2
			88	100%	90	100%	178	101%

Structure	2-parent Mother f	2-parent Mother %	2-parent Father f	2-parent Father %	1-parent Mother f	1-parent Mother %	1-parent Father f	1-parent Father %	Total f	Total %
Present Family by Sex of Head										
Simple nuclear	121	95	(As in Mothers)		-	-	-	-	121	68
Simple extended	5	4			-	-	-	-	5	3
Augmented nuclear	1	1			-	-	-	-	1	1
Augmented exten.	1	1			-	-	-	-	1	1
Attenuated nuclear	-	-			40	87	4	100	44	24
Aug. Atten. nuclear	-	-			1*	2	-	-	1	1
Atten. extended	-	-			5	11	-	-	5	3
	128	101%			46	100%	4	100%	178	101%
Family of Orientation by Sex of Present Head										
Simple nuclear	74	55	69	53	29	71	2	50		
Simple extended	39	29	28	22	7	17	-	-		
Augmented nuclear	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-		
Augmented exten.	2	1	4	3	-	-	-	-		
Attenuated nuclear	10	7	17	13	4	10	-	-		
Aug. Atten. nuclear	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		
Atten. extended	5	4	7	5	1	2	2	50		
Incipient extend.	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-		
Missing data	1	1	2	2						
	134	99%	130	101%	41	100%	4	100%		

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[1] See Appendix for structure definition

*Woman; 4 long-term foster care children.

Table 3

Religious Memberships over Three Generations of Head of Household

		Subjects'		Subjects'	
Religion	Subject %	Father %	Mother %	Grandpa %	Grandma %
Baptist	32	49	45	62	55
Methodist	16	23	22	24	26
Catholic	15	12	14	7	7
Episcopal	9	3	2	3	-
Presbyterian	6	3	4	3	3
Pentecostal) Seventh Day) Adventist) Jehovah's) Witness)	4	4	5	1	6
Muslim	1				
Other	9	6	6	1	3
No religion	8	1	1		
Total	100	101	99	101	100

Table 4

SES Summary

	Hollingshead/Redlich				Self Rating							
	Standard		Modified		Self		Parent		Grand-parent		Neighbors	
Social Class	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Upper	55	43	66	51	8	7	2	2	1	1	7	6
Middle	61	47	50	39	88	74	30	26	12	11	89	75
Working	12	9	12	9	22	19	78	68	80	72	18	15
Lower	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	4	18	16	4	3
Total	129	100	129	100	119	101	115	100	111	100	118	99

Table 5
Educational Levels for the Total and by the Four Mobility Patterns

Educational Level	Subject %	Father %	Mother %	Paternal Grandpa %	Paternal Grandma %	Maternal Grandpa %	Maternal Grandma %
			Total				
Graduate, Prof.	41	6	6	1	-	1	-
College	37	8	10	4	-	1	3
Some College	16	14	16	10	7	13	9
High School	6	35	39	16	21	18	24
Some High School			1				
Junior High	1	18	13	16	17	22	21
Grade School	-	20	15	53	54	44	44
Total	101	101	100	100	99	99	101
N	127	127	125	70	70	72	78
			Upwardly Mobile this Generation				
Graduate, Prof.	46	-	3	-	-	-	-
College	33	5	8	4	-	-	3
Some College	19	10	13	18	10	11	10
High School	1	33	40	14	21	17	15
Some High School							
Junior High	1	19	15	14	10	17	23
Grade School	-	32	22	50	59	54	49
Total	100	99	101	100	100	99	100
N	79	78	76	28	29	35	39
			Upwardly Mobile each Generation				
Graduate, Prof.	45	-	-	-	-	4	-
College	52	7	14	-	-	-	-
Some College	-	17	24	-	-	4	8
High School	3	48	41	10	17	20	23
Some High School	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Junior High	-	28	14	17	21	36	23
Grade School	-	-	3	72	62	36	46
Total	100	100	99	99	100	100	100
N	29	29	29	29	29	25	26
			Upwardly Mobile Parents' Generation				
Graduate, Prof.	29	63	50	-	-	-	-
College	29	13	13	-	-	-	14
Some College	29	-	13	13	13	29	-
High School	14	25	13	38	38	14	57
Some High School	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junior High	-	-	-	25	25	14	14
Grade School	-	-	13	25	25	43	14
Total	101	101	102	101	101	100	99
N	7	8	8	8	8	7	7
			Middle Class over Three Generations				
Graduate, Prof.	9	17	9	20	-	-	-
College	33	25	16	40	-	20	-
Some College	25	42	16	20	25	40	17
High School	33	17	50	20	25	20	50
Some High School	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junior High	-	-	9	-	25	-	-
Grade School	-	-	-	-	25	20	33
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100	100
N	12	12	12	5	4	5	6

Table 6

Summary of Educational Achievement for Subjects, Degrees of Paternal Line and Educational Level by SES Self-rating for Two-parent Homes

Educational Level of Head of Household	
Graduate/professional training	41%
College	53%
High School	6%
	100%

Degrees Earned by Subjects

	Fathers f	Fathers %	Mothers f	Mothers %
Ph.D., Ed.D.	17	12	8	5
Med., Law	12	8	2	1
Masters	29	20	37	24
Bachelors	51	36	52	34
AA, AS, RN, Business	7	5	12	8
High School +	27	19	44	29
Total	143	100	155	101

Degrees Earned by Paternal Ancestors

					Paternal				Maternal			
	Father		Mother		Grandpa		Grandma		Grandpa		Grandma	
Degree	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Ph.D., Ed.D.	1	1										
Med., Law	1	1							1	1		
Masters	5	4	7	5	1	1						
Bachelors	9	7	14	10	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	3
AA, AS, RN, Business	5	4	4	3	3	4	1	1	2	3	2	3
High School +	59	45	71	53	16	23	18	26	20	28	24	31
None	50	39	39	29	47	68	49	71	48	67	50	64
Total	130	101	135	100	69	99	69	99	72	100	78	101

Two-parent Unit	Born Working Class						Born Middle Class					
		Mother's			Father's			Mother's			Father's	
Education	Mother	Pa	Ma	Father	Pa	Ma	Mother	Pa	Ma	Father	Pa	Ma
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Grad/prof.	38	12	5	43	5	4	4	14	4	35	15	19
College	27	6	14	41	7	8	30	-	9	35	15	19
Some College	24	15	20	11	12	19	61	14	17	26	15	24
High School	11	37	41	6	34	37	4	36	26	4	35	29
Some High School	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junior High	-	13	17	-	22	18	-	18	13	-	10	-
Less than 7 yrs	-	16	2	-	21	14	-	18	30	-	10	10
	101	100	100	101	101	101	99	100	99	100	100	101
N	84	80	86	86	80	84	23	22	23	23	17	19

?

Table 7

Occupations by Percentage of Male and Female Subjects and their Ancestors over Three Generations

Occupation	Subject	Father	Mother	Paternal Grandpa	Paternal Grandma	Maternal Grandpa	Maternal Grandma
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Occupations of Male Subjects and their Ancestors						
Executives	40	7	1	1	-	2	-
Managers	43	9	15	4	5	3	5
Administrative	10	7	3	13	1	10	1
Clerical	3	19	10	35	5	40	9
Skilled	2	27	5	16	2	13	1
Semi-skilled	1	14	6	4	3	9	1
Unskilled	1	18	17	27	13	23	14
Not work	-	-	43	-	71	1	69
Total	100	101	100	100	100	101	100
	Occupations of Female Subjects and their Ancestors						
Executives	22	8	1	10	1	7	-
Managers	37	12	25	5	13	3	4
Administrative	25	11	5	7	2	7	1
Clerical	14	24	11	39	8	50	8
Skilled	-	20	5	16	1	10	3
Semi-skilled	1	10	7	5	3	9	8
Unskilled	-	14	14	19	18	15	14
Not work	1	-	33	-	54	-	63
Total	100	99	101	101	100	101	101

Table 8

Occupation of Grandfathers for Male and Female by the Four Mobility Patterns

Occupation	Upward in Present Generation		Upward in each Generation		Upward in Parents' Generation		Middle Class over Three Generations	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Occupation of Subjects by Mobility Pattern								
Executive, Prof.	25	37	3	27	9	41	5	29
Manager	31	46	7	64	10	46	6	35
Administrative	6	9	1	9	3	14	2	12
Clerical	2	3	-	-	-	-	2	12
Skilled	2	3	-	-	-	-	1	6
Semi and Unskilled	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	6
Total	67	100	11	100	22	101	17	100
Occupations of Fathers of Male Subjects by Mobility Patterns								
Executive, Prof.	1	1	1	3	4	50	3	25
Manager	3	4	3	10	1	13	4	33
Administrative	4	5	3	10	1	13	1	8
Clerical	16	21	6	21	-	-	2	17
Skilled	22	29	10	35	-	-	1	8
Semi-skilled	14	18	3	10	1	13	-	-
Unskilled	17	22	3	10	1	13	1	8
Total	77	100	29	99	8	102	12	99
Occupations of Fathers of Female Subjects by Mobility Patterns								
Executive, Prof.	-	-	1	3	5	31	4	20
Manager	3	4	3	8	7	44	3	15
Administrative	7	10	4	11	1	6	4	20
Clerical	20	29	13	34	-	-	3	15
Skilled	14	20	10	26	2	13	3	15
Semi-skilled	8	12	5	13	1	6	1	5
Unskilled	17	25	2	5	-	-	2	10
Total	69	100	38	100	16	100	20	100

Table 9

Employment of Subjects' Mothers at Different Periods of their Lives for Total and by Mobility Pattern

Amount of Employment	Male Subjects				Female Subjects			
	1-5 yrs		6-10 yrs		1-5 yrs		6-10 yrs	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Not work	69	49	61	42	78	47	70	42
Full time	40	28	27	19	55	33	39	24
Part time	22	16	51	35	23	14	52	31
Don't know	11	8	5	4	9	6	5	3
Total	142	101	144	100	165	100	166	100

Maternal Employment by Mobility Pattern

	Up this Generation		Up each Generation		Up parents Generation		MC for three Generations	
	1-5 yrs %	6-10 yrs %	1-5 yrs %	6-10 yrs %	1-5 yrs %	6-10 yrs %	1-5 yrs %	6-10 yrs %
Not work	51	32	50	35	29	35	61	32
Full time	25	38	31	35	53	59	39	43
Part time	20	27	14	30	12	-	-	25
Don't know	4	3	6	-	6	6	-	-
Total	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100
N	71	71	36	37	17	17	28	28

Table 10

Amount of Help Received and Attitude Toward Help Exchanged as Reported by Mothers

	Fathers		Mothers	
	f	%	f	%
Amount Received				
Great deal	110	66	98	66
Somewhat	31	19	29	20
Very Little	9	5	7	5
None	16	10	15	10
Total	166	100	149	101
Attitude Toward Help				
Appreciate help	57	46	78	52
Appreciate and expect	25	20	27	18
Appreciate, not expect	6	5	17	11
Expect in emergencies only	5	4	3	2
Hesitate to ask	11	9	10	7
Do not depend on family	11	9	4	3
Never need help	9	7	11	7
Total	124	100	150	100

Table 11

Types of Help Exchanged by Mobility Patterns[1] as Reported by Mothers

Mobility Patterns: 1, 2, 3	Family			Friends		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
	%	%	%	%	%	%
			Help Received From			
Child care	38	32	35	24	32	36
Financial	27	29	24	14	13	25
Emotional	22	24	29	48	52	31
Repairs, chores	11	9	6	9	3	6
Clothes, furniture	2	6	6	5	-	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	101
N	55	34	34	58	31	36
			Help Given To			
Child care	24	34	44	25	17	36
Financial	37	25	23	18	25	33
Emotional	18	22	26	46	53	31
Repairs, chores	8	-	-	7	6	-
Clothes, furniture	13	19	8	5	-	-
Total	100	100	101	101	101	100
N	62	32	39	61	36	36

[1] Mobility Patterns
1 - Upward in present generation
2 - Upward in each generation
3 - Born middle class
Upward in parent's generation
Middle class over three generations

Table 12

Comparisons of Decision-making Final Scores by Demography, SES, and Mobility Pattern and Correlation Between Parents

Total	N	M	SD	DF	*t*		*p*
Father	122	20.47	2.95				
Mother	161	22.48	4.25				
Demography							
Urban	66	20.36	9.56	120	- .42		.66
Suburban	56	20.59	7.88				
SES							
Upper class	63	19.84	9.81	119	-2.30		.02
Middle class	58	21.03	6.35				
Mobility Pattern					MSq	F	*p*
Mother Response							
1. Up this gen.	64	21.34	2.72	3	6.59	.62	.56
2. Up each gen.	19	21.74	1.20	110	9.52		
3. Parents MC	13	21.77	4.30	113			
4. MC 3 gen.	18	20.44	4.12				
	114	21.32	3.07				
Father Response							
1. Up this gen.	65	20.40	3.00	3	3.47	4.06	.75
2. Up each gen.	22	20.73	2.57	111	8.53		
3. Parents MC	11	21.36	2.42	109			
4. MC 3 gen.	15	20.87	3.33				
	113	20.62	2.90				

Correlation of Fathers' and Mothers' Final Scores: $r(117) = .340$, $p < .01$

Table 13

Cross Tabulations of Decision-Making Responses by Type of Decision and Sex of Parent

Majority Decision Maker	Decision	Percent of Person Making Decision Both	Father	Mother
Father	Purchase Car	46%	54%	1%
	Buy Insurance	45	49	6
Mother	Wife Work?	42	7	51
	Food Budget	27	23	50
Both	Jobs Parents Take	77	17	6
	Select House	77	10	13
	Child's Curfew	70	18	12
	Birth Control to Use	67	7	26
	TV Program	65	14	21
	To Do When Ill	59	14	28
	Children's Job	54	14	32

Table 14
Stress Responses by Mobility Pattern

Mobility Patterns	N	M	SD	df	f	p
	Stress Totals 2 years					
1	61	242	208.58	3	2.58	.06
2	20	140	89.57	109		
3	12	230	108.80	106		
4	17	318	273.76	-		
	Stress Totals 6 months					
1	61	93.03	90.46	3	2.65	.05
2	20	56.90	58.86	109		
3	12	10.74	59.27	106		
4	17	140.35	133.47	-		
	Stress Frequency 2 years					
1	61	10.59	8.15	3	2.30	.08
2	20	6.90	4.18	109		
3	12	10.08	3.55	106		
4	17	13.59	11.22	-		
	Stress Frequency 6 months					
1	61	4.61	4.12	3	2.29	.08
2	20	2.95	2.59	109		
3	12	5.50	2.39	106		
4	17	6.24	2.46	-		

Mobility Patterns 1 - Upward in present generation
2 - Upward in each generation
3 - Upward in parent's generation
4 - Middle class over three generations

Table 15

Frequency of Samples' Responses to Question of Perception of Possible Cause for Ten Year Difference in Life Span between Blacks and whites by Demography

Responses	Urban		Suburban		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Stress, pressures, racism	64	40	100	37	164	38
Economics (poorer working conditions and lower living standards)	17	11	68	25	85	20
Diet	34	21	51	19	85	20
Lack of medical care and facilities	22	14	32	12	52	12
Heredity	-	-	13	5	13	3
Don't agree on life-span difference	11	7	2	1	13	3
Don't know	12	8	7	3	19	4
Total	160	101	273	102	431	100

Table 16

Rank Order and Percentage Agreement on Needed External Support by Sex by Family Type

One-parent Mother			Two-parent Mother			Two-parent Father		
Rank	Service	%	Rank	Service	%	Rank	Service	%
1	Transportation	67	1	Job placement	59	1	Child counseling	65
2	Job placement	64	2	Recreational fac.	55	2	Counseling	63
3	Child care	60	3	Com.inf.re Blacks	49	3.5	Child care	59
4	Com.inf.re Blacks	58	4	Counseling, gen.	47	3.5	Job placement	59
5	Counsel.all areas	56	5	Child counsel.	45	5.5	Public transp.	58
6	Financial plan.	50	7	Child care	42	5.5	Financial counsel	58
7	Recreation fac.	47	7	Marital counsel.	42	7	Marital counsel.	57
8.5	Child counsel.	46	7	Educational fac.	42	8	Personal therapy	54
8.5	Job training	46	9	Public transp.	40	9	Com.inf.re Blacks	52
10	Personal therapy	44	10	Job training	39	10.5	Educational fac.	51
11	Educational fac.	39	11	Personal therapy	38	10.5	Recreational fac.	51
12	Marital counsel.	37	12	Financial plan.	36	12	Health care	47
13	Health care	35	13	Health care	27	13	Job training	42

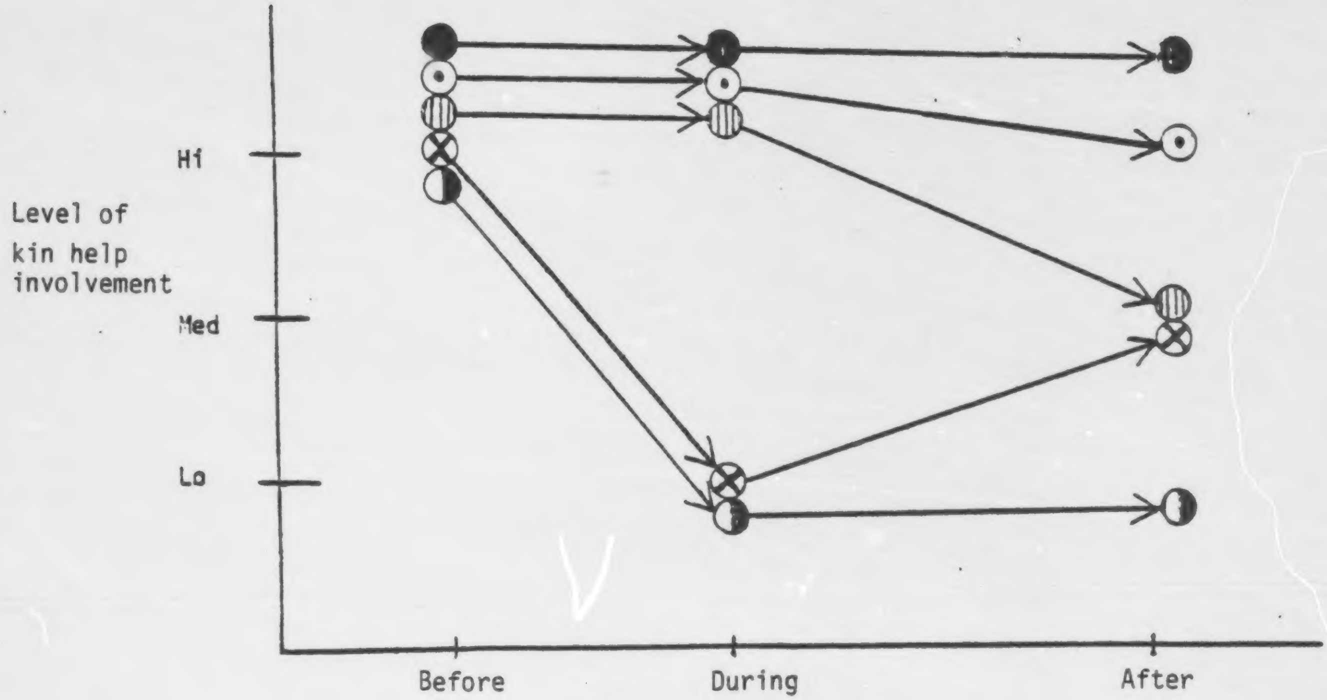

Figure 1. Theories of extended kin help patterns involvement before, during and after mobility.

Theories:

Legend:
- ● 1st view Billingsley, Hill
- ◑ 2nd view McQueen, Stack
- ⦶ 3rd view McAdoo
- ⊗ 4th view McAdoo
- ⊙ 5th view McAdoo

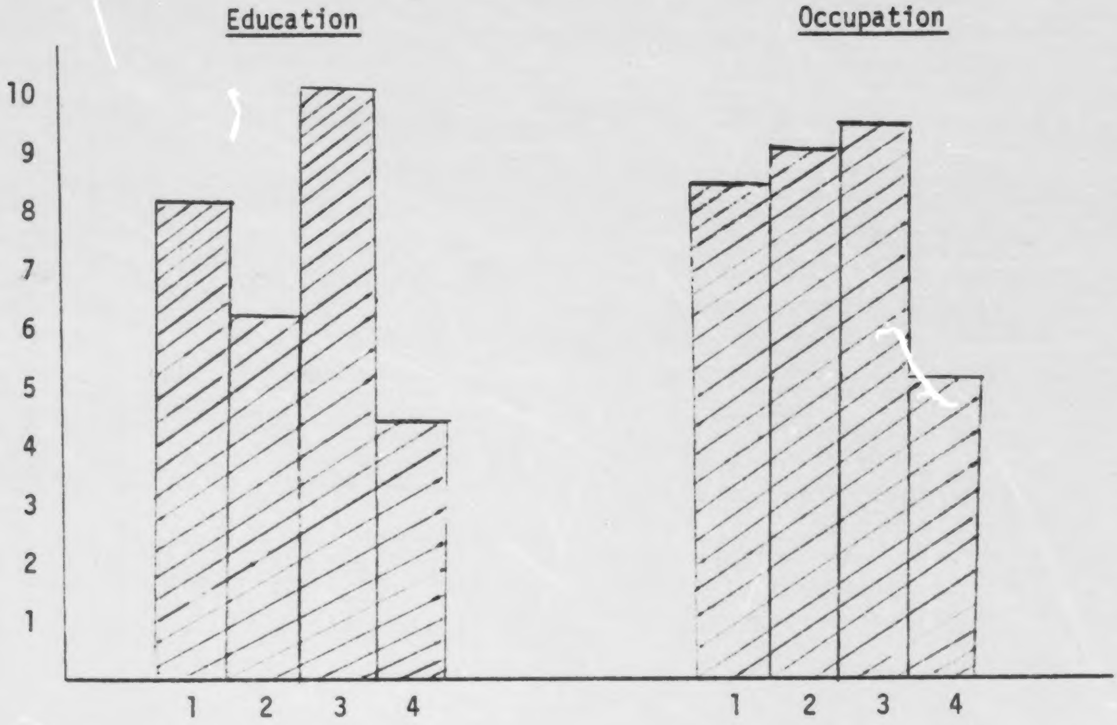

Fig. 3. Percentage of fathers in top two educational levels and top two occupational status levels by four mobility patterns.

1 - Up this generation
2 - Up parent's generation
3 - Up each generation
4 - Middle class three generations

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The Impact of Extended Family Variables Upon the Upward Mobility of Black Families

List of Appendices

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Appendix C	Other published article
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Appendix G	Self Administered Questionnaire (A)
Appendix H	Interviewer Administered Questionnaire (B)

Appendix A

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Field Agency Seminar

July 7, 1977

The Impact of Extended Family Variables
Upon Upward Mobility of Black Families

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Bland, June; Office of Research & Evaluation, Board of Education, Washington, D.C.
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Dorsey, Geraldine; Foster Parent Services, Department of Social Services, City of Baltimore, Baltimore, MD; Reactor
Ewing, Paul; Families' and Children's Clinic, University of Maryland Medical School, Baltimore, MD; Advisory Board member and agency representative
Gary, Lawrence; Howard University Institute of Urban Affairs & Research, Washington, D.C.
Kirschner, Elaine; Maryland Children's Aid & Family Services, Ellicott City, MD.
Lynn, Sue; Grassroots, Columbia, MD.
McCoy, Maizella; participant parent in Project; Columbia, MD.
Newby, Patricia; Summit Hall Elementary School, Gaithersburg, MD; Advisory Board member
Oliver, Terri; participant parent in Project; Columbia, MD.
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Reid, Vivian; Office of Aging, Bureau of Citizens Services of Howard County, Columbia, MD.
Robinson, Yvonne; Child Protection Center, Children's Hospital, Washington, D.C.
Rosser, Pearl; Institute of Child Development & Family Life, Howard University School of Medicine, Washington, D.C.
Simpkinson, Charles; Montgomery County Social Services, Olney, MD; Advisory Board member and agency representative
Stein, Betty; Social Services Department, Bureau of Community Services, City of Baltimore, Baltimore, MD.
Stevens, Essie; Family & Child Services of Washington, Washington, D.C.
Toomer, Jean; Black Family Life, Inc., Columbia, MD.; Reactor
Walker, Wilbert; Social Services Administration, State of Maryland, Baltimore, MD.
Fambro, Jeanette, Columbia, Parent.

SCHEDULE

The Impact of Extended Family Variables Upon Upward Mobility of Black Families

Field Agency Seminar

July 7, 1977

Loyola College Conference Center
American City Building
Columbia, MD.

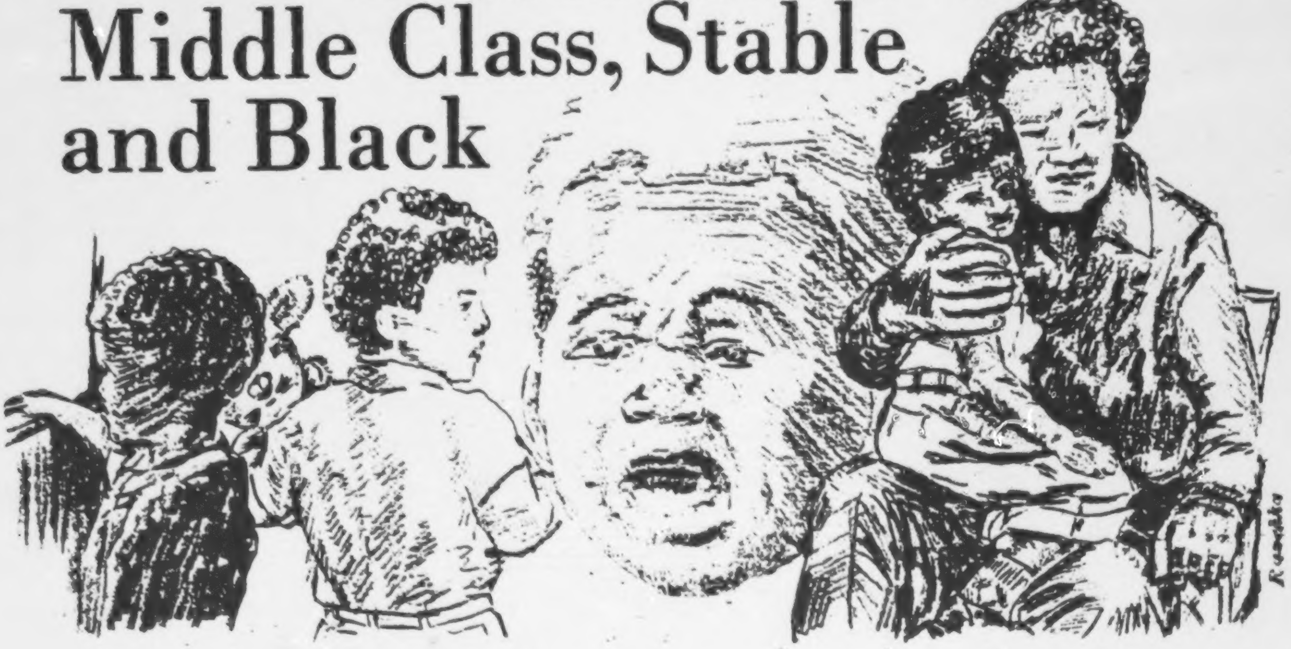
9:30 AM	Coffee
10:00 AM	Introductions - John Lewis McAdoo, Ph.D., ACSW University of Maryland School of Social Work & Community Planning
	Results of Study - Harriette Pipes McAdoo, Ph.D. Howard University School of Social Work
	Questions
11:15 AM	Reactors - Jean Toomer Research Consultant, Black Family Life Project Charter Member, Black Family Life, Inc. Community Affairs Consultant (Private)
	Geraldine Dorsey, ACSW Service Supervisor, Foster Parent Services, Department of Social Services, City of Baltimore
	Wilhelmina Petite-Manns, ACSW Chairperson of Direct Service Sequence Howard University School of Social Work University of Chicago Doctoral Candidate
	Question Period
11:45 AM	Discussion Groups
12:00	Luncheon
1:00 PM	Return to Discussion Groups
1:40 PM	Reports from Groups
	Summary

Sponsored by Columbia Research Systems, Inc.
Funded by Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education, & Welfare, Grant No. 90-C-631.

Appendix B

THE SUN NEWSPAPER, THE SUN MAGAZINE, SUNDAY, AUGUST 21, 1977

Middle Class, Stable and Black



By HARRIET SCARUPA

JOHN and Harriette McAdoo, parents of four, themselves come from warm, supportive families who from childhood imbued them with a firm understanding of their worth as human beings and an equally firm will to achieve. They are trying to raise their own children the same way. And they know they are not astonishingly unique.

Yet, when the two black Columbia social work professors reviewed all the sociological literature on the black family they found practically nothing to support the reality they so often saw around them. Again and again, they met up with grim pictures of black families caught up in a tangle of stereotypes. Again and again, they found most of the existing research on the black family focused almost exclusively on the most depressed, problem-plagued families.

Such distorted findings dismayed them not only personally, given their own experience and what they knew of those of relatives, friends and acquaintances. It also dismayed them professionally. As teachers, they bristled at having to direct their students to the same old tired studies about black family life. (John McAdoo is on the faculty of the University of Maryland's School of Social Work and Community Planning. Harriette Pipes McAdoo is on the faculty of Howard University's School of Social Work).

To do something about this, the couple came up with a suggestion at once startlingly simple and startlingly radical: Instead of basing our view of the black family on hearsay or limited studies on easily accessible families with obvious problems—those who've had contact with welfare agencies, prisons, courts, drug treatment programs, for instance—why not go into the homes of black families who do seem to be coping, especially the seldom-studied middle class, and see how *they* do it?

This is just what the McAdoos have been doing for the past two years through a research undertaking called the Family Life Project.

The project, with headquarters in Columbia's Wilde Lake Village Green, is funded by grants from the National Institutes of Mental Health (NIMH) and the Office of Child Development (OCD). It has two main thrusts.

John McAdoo has been looking at parent-child interaction in black families with preschool children to see how it affects the child's self-esteem and motivation to achieve.

Harriette McAdoo has been examining upward mobility in black families and identifying some of the forces helping to shape it.

One recent afternoon, the McAdoos took some time off from finishing up their research to talk about the project. Handsome and soft-spoken, they both hold Ph.D's in educational psychology from the University of Michigan and have frequently collaborated on research in the past. Like many people who live and work so closely together, they have a tendency to finish each other's sentences and to sometimes disagree, but they do it with gentle apologies.

Their two studies, they said, are also interrelated. Both set out to collect basic, measurable information on black family life and to do it without making any judgments. As Harriette McAdoo put it, "We weren't setting out to prove anything but to find what is there." What's unique about their work, she added, is "this is not a laboratory study but an examination of real people in real homes. We've gone into a community systematically selecting families to find out what their attitudes, behavior and beliefs really are. It's important you emphasize 'systematically,' she cautioned. "We didn't just go out and interview our friends."

Thus, John McAdoo's study focused on 45 black two-parent working-and middle-class families in Columbia. Since there is no official list of all the blacks in Columbia, the McAdoos had to develop a master list of their own so they could select (systematically) their subjects. To do so, they canvassed churches, fraternal organizations, schools, day care centers and even went door to door.

Harriette McAdoo's study on black upward mobility surveyed 180 black families, half from Columbia, half selected from census tracts in Washington D.C., that matched the Columbia sampling in terms of income and education. Median family income from all sources was $28,206 for the Columbia families, $35,475 for the Washington families.

Her study is based on an easily recognizable fact: Parents can't even begin to meet their children's emotional needs if they're still struggling just to put bread on the table. First and foremost, they need the security of an economic base.

"So," she explained, "we set out to look at what things within a family help it build that base. We figured the best way was to pick out a group of economically-secure black families and ask them to look at how they got that way."

A short inital interview and a detailed, 17-page questionnaire were the means. The questionnaire sought to gather facts from these successful blacks about themselves and their families over three generations, to find out how they felt about themselves and to tap their views on a wide range of topics. Sample: "Check either a. or b. in each question. a) Being a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it; b) Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time."

Her findings challenge the belief today's upwardly mobile black families are solely the offspring of the "old middle class," those whose forefathers were the early freedmen and often had generous proportions of white ancestry. "Of the men and women studied, 73 percent became middle class only in this generation and achieved this status as a result of educational and occupational attainments," she emphasized.

Her study also identified the important role played by what she calls "kin help patterns" in helping the individual black achieve a comfortable income. Emotional, financial and all the other support members of black families give each other go into this. Only 22 percent of the respondents said their families had never aided them.

"Of those who said this, only one man answered every question with 'I don't owe nobody nothin,' " she said with a tinge of amusement. More typically, we heard things like 'My mother scrubbed floors so I could go to college' or 'If it hadn't been for my family, I couldn't have made it.' "

But these were not people to just take, take, take. In fact, they gave more help to family members than they had received and most of that help was financial. Explained Harriette McAdoo: "Before they were middle class, kinship helping was like an insurance policy. 'I'll help you when you need it so you'll help me when I need it.' They don't need the insurance policy at the moment but the kin-involvement is still there. And it's there for more than emotional reasons. It's as if they're all-too-aware of the still-vulnerable status of blacks in the American economy, even those who are middle class."

The procedure for John McAdoo's

Continued on Page 19

Appendix B (2)

Middle Class Blacks

Continued from Page 17

study on parent-child interaction was somewhat different. Male and female interviewers questioned the fathers and mothers separately about their ideas on child-rearing, what they wanted for their children, how they thought black child-raising attitudes differed from white. While the interview was in progress, the interviewers would also note how the parents and children actually related to each other.

John McAdoo presented a hypothetical situation: "If 4-year-old Sammy were wandering restlessly around during the interview, we'd note how his father handled him. Did he put Sammy on his lap because he sensed the child felt left out of things? Did he just let him wander? Did he yell at Sammy to sit still in one spot and not move? What kind of tone of voice did he use?"

Then Sammy would be brought into the project's offices and interviewed to see how he felt about himself. As he looked at his own Polaroid picture, an interviewer probed his feelings: "Is Sammy happy or is he sad? Does Sammy's mother think he is good-looking or not? His friends? His teachers?" Last, his achievement motivation would be measured. When given a ball and asked to toss it into a bucket, for instance, did he give up easily or persist until he succeeded?

From analyzing the results of both the home and office visits, John McAdoo was able to come up with some measurable findings, findings that bear little resemblance to the portrait of the black family in so much sociological literature. That portrait, he pointed out, "shows a restrictive, punitive or invisible black father with the family being run by the mother and with the children, as a result, having all kinds of problems."

Consider his findings on the role of the black father:

The fathers studied were active and involved with their children. Indeed, 92 per cent of them reported they played with their kids daily.

The men were, likewise, warm and encouraging towards their children. Researchers classified the majority (77 per cent) of the fathers' verbal responses to their children as "nuturant."

Given such positive involvement with their children, it comes as no surprise the men studied did not see child-raising as solely "women's work." A large majority (78 percent) felt both parents jointly made the major decisions affecting the children and other family matters.

"The men also expressed high expectations for their children—and a willingness to act on these expectations," John McAdoo observed. "One of the questions asked the men was whether their children's needs came before their own. Most said their children definitely came first. A typical response was a man saying if he had to make a choice between a new car for himself and something his child needed to help him grow intellectually, he would readily give up the new car."

Not surprisingly, considering how their fathers—and mothers—treated and viewed them, the children in the families under study were practically bursting with self-esteem. "These children felt good about themselves," he observed. "They felt they were treasured human beings."

And he likes to tell a story that seems to speak both to the subject of his study, black parent-child interaction, and the subject of his wife's study, black upward mobility. The protagonist of that story is his own father, a solid, hard-working man who worked as a bus driver, construction foreman and carpenter in Detroit.

"When my father became a foreman, he and mother decided to have me come to work for him," he recalled. "He worked the hell out of me—deliberately—and at first it made me mad because he worked me harder than the other guys. All the while he kept saying, 'Well, son, what are you going to do [after high school]?' A lot of my friends were going to work in the auto plants, earning easy money and buying cars and all that. Through that job [which was backbreaking and monotonous], he gave me the opportunity to see what it would be like if I followed my friends' example and didn't act on my aspirations for more education. All of us," he added, speaking of himself, his sister and two brothers, "have achieved."

As for Harriette McAdoo, the Georgia-born daughter of two college professors, "I grew up in an atmosphere where educational attainment was taken for granted," she remarked.

Today, the McAdoos are passing on this heritage to their own four children: David, 4, Julia, 12, John, 13 and Michael, 18. "I guess you'd say we're a warm, open, loving family," Harriette McAdoo said. "Sometimes all the kids will be piled up on our bed all talking at once." "Yeah," quipped her husband, "four different people each with a different demand."

Regardless of their own family situation, both McAdoos believe it significant their research project is headed by blacks. "Blacks must move beyond being consumers of research and become the producers," Harriette McAdoo observed. "We must go from reacting to the research of others to creating our own."

One white researcher they do feel has made a valuable contribution to scholarship on black history is Herbert G. Getman, author of the widely-praised, "The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925." By painstakingly combing documents, he was able to show that the majority of blacks lived in two-parent households, that many slave marriages were long-lasting and that the black family, as it moved through emancipation and two waves of migration to the cities, bore little resemblance to the "pathological" stereotype.

The McAdoos' studies have much the same message about today's successful black families, those who have for too long been ignored. Speaking thoughtfully and deliberately, the two researchers offer two cautionary notes about their work.

John McAdoo: "What we're doing is not an attempt to romanticize the black experience. Racism and slavery are not romantic. What we *are* doing is trying to provide a more balanced view of black family life."

Harriette McAdoo: "We are not saying all black families are proud, good and beautiful. We are saying you can't summarize 'The Black Family.' We have a commonality—our experience with racism and our need to cope with it—but within this commonality there is diversity. Diversity. It's time the diversity of black families was recognized." ☐

Dismayed by sociological literature which focused exclusively on problem families, Harriette and John McAdoo are studying black middle class families to discover patterns among the upwardly mobile and those with stable family lives.

McAdoos' study could destroy some of the old stereotypes

By Carolyn Males

Most research on black families, Harriette McAdoo says, "has concentrated on the most deprived, most depressed and most oppressed blacks — the extremes."

"As a result, these statistics have been generalized throughout the whole black population," she adds. Sociological studies, which either ignore the black family unit or portray it as unstable, create an erroneous impression of black family life, McAdoo says.

She and her husband, John, are completing a study on middle class blacks that they say should eradicate this false picture. The study, funded by the Health Education and Welfare's office of child development, documents the mobility patterns of three generations of 178 black middle class families.

The 305 participants, chosen from a random sample of Columbia and Washington middle class blacks, includes one-parent families with incomes of $10,000 and two-parent families with incomes around $14,000. These figures are based on the U.S. census standards for middle class families.

In their two-year study, the McAdoos have documented a cross-section of strengths, weaknesses and needs of the families as well as their ascendancy into the middle class.

The researchers found that 62 per cent of the families studied came directly from working class backgrounds. Of those, 23 per cent rose from lower class origins, while six per cent had working class grandparents and middle class parents.

Nine per cent had totally middle class backgrounds spanning three generations.

According to Harriette McAdoo, the vehicle for their ascendancy to middle class status was education. Families in the study, she says "believed in the value of education — education was the only way they could become mobile."

As a result, 40 per cent of the males and 30 per cent of the females obtained professional degrees beyond bachelors' degrees.

"We found this was very typical across the country," McAdoo says. And black females in this group tend to be better educated than white females, she adds. This trend, she explains, is "due to the fact that black boys and girls tend to be treated equally. Blacks do not have the problem with sex stereotypes that whites have, at least as far as education."

The chosen occupations of the participants ranged from teaching and government work to medicine and law. But the McAdoos discovered that the blacks, despite higher levels of education, earned less than their white counterparts.

"This situation hurts the black family doubly. It requires that the family have two incomes," McAdoo says. "In 85 per cent of black families across the country, both mother and father have to work."

She compares this situation to the white population where an estimated 50 per cent of families have two parents who must work.

She also points out that families headed by women made up 24 per cent of the sample. Since black women earn less than black males or white men and women, "these families are economically the most vulnerable."

Economic inequality and racial discrimination create "damaging stresses on black families that whites don't feel." Black heads of households are not able to get the kinds of jobs you would expect them to get, McAdoo says.

To cope with these problems, she adds, blacks have traditionally turned to a "can-help system," an extended family of relatives and friends. Blacks can call on their families for child care, legal and financial assistance or emotional support, she says.

In the past, other minorities, too, have used this system, she continues. "Many minorities have tended to rely on the family rather than outsiders. But as the different groups became more economically secure, they (the upwardly mobile) lost some of their contact" with relatives.

People
In the
news
- Profile
- Personalities

But with middle class black families, she says this trend has not held true.

"We have found that black families are still involved in the can-help relationship," she says. Even in Columbia, a highly mobile city where much of the population comes from outside the local area, black families have maintained close family ties.

McAdoo found "the majority of black families studied lived with 30 miles of relatives."

She suggests that strong historical roots and stresses blacks face in society may perpetuate the can-help system. "A cultural pattern that has continued over generations is naturally stronger," she says. And, because of discrimination, blacks still feel the need to form protective units.

Even in Columbia, despite the emphasis on equality, "race issues are still a problem," McAdoo says.

During the study, many black parents, for instance, related incidents of subtle discrimination against their children in the county school system.

Teachers, they reported, often had lower expectations for black students and did not encourage advanced study or achievement. This situation has been particularly distressing, McAdoo says, because of the strong value black parents place on education.

The supportive function of the can-help system has also provided incentive for upward mobility.

"Over and over again" the study participants "talked about the impetus to succeed that came from their families. 'You're going to have to be better than the white person applying for a job,' they were told."

Because of the helping and supportive nature of extended families, "when blacks have problems, they often go to the family," McAdoo continues. Social service agencies, she adds, will have to become more sensitive to blacks before blacks will use them.

"Social service agencies must have an awareness of cultural patterns — they should not work against the can-help system, but augment and support it," she argues.

The McAdoos have already shared many of their findings with local social service agencies. Now the researchers hope their study will lead to increased awareness of black family needs.

Old stereotypes, they hope, will be destroyed in the process.

Appendix C

McAdoo

Appendix D

Coding Manual

I. Definition of Terms

A. Family of Procreation (FP): The subject's children.
B. Family of Orientation (FO): The subject's family in which he grew up.
C. Paternal Grandparents: The parents of the subject's father.
D. Maternal Grandparents: The parents of the subject's mother.

E. Family Type:
1. One parent: attenuated (nuclear or extended); attenuated augmented (nuclear or extended); incipient attenuated (nuclear or extended); modified extended.
2. Two parent: simple (nuclear or extended); modified extended; augmented (nuclear or extended); incipient (nuclear or extended).

F. Family Structure:

1. Simple nuclear: Two parents, biological or adopted children.
2. Simple extended: Two parents, own children, relatives (usually 3 generations).
3. Augmented nuclear: Two parents, children, non-relatives.
4. Augmented extended: Two parents, children, relative, non-relative.
5. Incipient nuclear: Two parents, no biological children at home; other relative, who may be child (ex. couple plus grandchildren.
6. Incipient extended: Two parents no biological children in home, other relatives (ex. couple, neice and her children).
7. Attenuated nuclear: One parent mother or father, own children.
8. Attenuated extended: One parent, own children, other relatives.
9. Augmented attenuated nuclear: One parent, children, non-relatives.
10. Augmented attenuated extended: One parent, children, relatives, plus non-relatives (ex. woman, children, sister-in-law, friend).
11. Incipient attenuated nuclear: One parent, no biological children, other relatives (ex. woman, her grandchildren).
12. Incipient attenuated extended: One adult, no biological children, other relatives and children (ex. man, his sister and her children).
13. Neo-local nuclear or modified extended: Nuclear families connected by close cooperative link (ex. frequently interacting household of sisters).

Code as follows, if adult takes over role of parent for child:

NOTE
From
Billingsley

Children raised by two grandparents = simple extended
Children raised by one grandparent = attenuated extended
Children raised by aunts and uncles or other relatives = simple extended
Children raised by single aunt, uncle or other relative = attenuated extended

II. Additional Coding Instructions

A. Religion: (25-26A)

1. If only one religion is given, assume it is the same for both.
2. If two are given, but not labeled, flip coin and randomly assign to parents.
3. For grandparents: if only one is given, assume same for all.

B. Members living in home (36B): code as for Family Structure question.

C. Mother-only Items: The symbol (M) in front of a question number is the symbol for the question to be read to the mother only. For father, code as 9, missing data. Do not leave blank.

D. Sections of Country: Question Number 14A EF

1. South	2. Mid-Atlantic	3. North	4. West	5. Mid-West
Kentucky	Delaware	Maine	Washington	North Dakota
Tennessee	Maryland	Vermont	Montana	South Dakota
Arkansas	D.C.	New Hampshire	Idaho	Nebraska
Louisiana	Virginia	New York	Wyoming	Kansas
Mississippi	West Virginia	Rhode Island	Colorado	Minnesota
Alabama		Connecticut	Utah	Iowa
Florida		Pennsylvania	New Mexico	Missouri
Georgia		Massachusetts	Arizona	Wisconsin
North Carolina		New Jersey	Nevada	Illinois
South Carolina			Oregon	Indiana
			California	Chio
6. Other countries			Alaska	Michigan
Africa			Hawaii	Oklahoma
West Indies			Texas	

III. Procedures in doing Hollingshead-Redleich SES Codes

A. Standard Method

Step 1: Occupation

a. Look up subject's occupation from questionnaire.

b. Obtain category number of subject's job from the following:

1-Executives and proprietors of large concerns; major professionals

2-Managers and proprietors of medium-sized businesses; Lesser professionals

3-Administrative personnel of large concerns; Owners of small independent businesses; Semi-professionals
4-Owners of little businesses; Clerical workers; Sales workers; Technicians
5-Skilled workers
6-Semi-skilled workers
7-Unskilled workers
8-Doesn't work; Housewife
9-No information
(If unable to match job to code, use the detailed Hollingshead chart.)

c. Obtain Occupational Score: Multiply Category Number by 7
(7 = occupational factor weight)

(Example: Subject is Manager 2 x 7 = 14)

Step 2: Education

a. Look up subject's educational level from questionnaire.

b. Obtain Education Scale Values from the following list:

1-Graduate professional training; Graduate degree
2-College or university graduate
3-Partial college training; trade, business
4-High school graduation
5-Partial High school
6-Completion of 7th, 8th, or 9th grades
7-Less than 7 years of school
8-No information

c. Obtain Education Score: Multiply Category Number by 4 (4 = education factor weight)

(Example: Subject has 8th grade = 6 x 4 = 24)

Step 3: Index of Social Position Score:

Add Education and Occupation scores to get the Index of Social Position score.

(Example: Manager, 8th grade education
Occupation = 14
Education = +24
38 = Index of Social Position (ISP)

Step 4: Obtain Social Class

a. Locate Index Score on range of ISP scores.

b. Find corresponding Class Number (I-V)

c. Find matching code (1-5)

d. Code this number on IBM sheet

ISP Score Range	Class	Code #
11-17	I	1
18-31	II	2
32-47	III	3
48-63	IV	4
64-77	V	5

Example: Manager, 8th grade education = 32-47 ISP range = Class III = Code 3 (working class)

B. Modified Method (Applicable to Black families: Baldwin, 1971; McAdoo, 1976):

Step 1: Occupation

- a. Same as Standard Method
- b. Same as Standard Method

Category No. times 4 (4 = occupation factor weight)

(Example: Subject is Manager = 2 x 4 = 8)

Step 2: Education

- a. Same as Standard Method
- b. Same as Standard Method
- c. Category No. times 7 (7 = education factor weight)

(Example: Subject has 8th grade = 6 x 7 = 42)

Step 3: Index of Social Position Score
Same as Standard Method

Step 4: Obtain Social Class
Same as Standard Method

ALL OTHER CODES SHOULD FOLLOW THE CODING MANUAL.

SES CONVERSION CHART - Weighted Values

Standard Procedure

# Answer Occupation	# Answer Education
1 - 7	1 - 4
2 - 14	2 - 8
3 - 21	3 - 12
4 - 28	4 - 16
5 - 35	5 - 20
6 - 42	6 - 24
7 - 49	7 - 28
8 - 56	8 - 32
9 -	9 -

Modified Procedure

1 - 4	1 - 7
2 - 8	2 - 14
3 - 12	3 - 21
4 - 16	4 - 28
5 - 20	5 - 35
6 - 24	6 - 42
7 - 28	7 - 49
8 - 32	8 - 56

IV. Mobility Direction Pattern

When parent data were examined over three generations for the first coding, nine possible mobility patterns were obtained. For two-parent families the father's line was used; for one-parent families the father's line was used when available, if not, the mother's was substituted. In the paternal grandparent and great-grandparent generation, in case of conflicts within couples, the father's line was selected.

The second coding collapsed the nine patterns into the four used in the study for most analyses.

The third coding collapsed the patterns into those who were born working class and those born middle class.

	First Coding	Second Coding	Third Coding
I. Upward mobility			
a. s. newly mobile (s. born WC)	0	1	born working class
b. up each gen. (parents born LC, up to WC; s. born WC; up to MC)	2	2	
c. up in parents' gen. (parents born WC up to MC; s. born MC)	1	3	born middle class
II. Downward mobility to MC			
a. present gen. (s. born UC)	3	4	
b. parents' gen. (parents born UC, up to MC, c. born MC)	4		
c. both s. & parents' gen. (s. & parents each moved lower than grandparents)	5		
III. Middle class over 3 gen.			
a. all gen. MC	6		
b. 1st & 3rd gen. MC; 2nd UC (parents' gen. up to UC)	7		
c. 1st & 3rd gen. MC; 2nd WC (parents' gen. down to WC)	8		
IV. Missing data	9		

Note:

a. If the pattern of mobility was both upward and downward in the three generations, assign the mobility to the two consecutive generations with the greater change in mobility.

b. If only one of the three generations contained a missing data, the mobility pattern was decided from the data of the other two generations.

c. If only the present status obtained, code as missing data.

Legend:

LC - Lower class.
MC - Middle class.
UC - Upper class.
WC - Working class.

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Appendix F

Parent Permission Form

Date__________________________

I have been informed about the purpose and procedures of the Family Research project being conducted by CoRAL,II and Dr. Harriette McAdoo. This project will make a contribution by studying normal, well functioning families.

I understand that the study is of parents' attitudes about how family structure and interaction influence upward mobility of Black families.

I am aware that the study will take about three hours of our time, over two days. My spouse (if living with the family) and I will be interviewed.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any point, and that I can refuse to answer any question if I wish. Any materials collected from my family can be withdrawn from the project if I decide to withdraw.

The information gathered will be kept strictly confidential. No names will be placed on the interview materials, only identification numbers. Only Dr. McAdoo will have a complete list of names and ID numbers. This list will be kept in a locked file, used only by the director. This list will be destroyed at the end of the project.

I understand that no families will be identified in the final report.

I have been promised a report of the project results when it is completed. I also am aware that each family participating will receive a small appreciation gift.

I, ____, agree to participate in this project.

Date____

I, ____, have explained to

____, the nature and procedures of this project and have witnessed her/him sign the consent form.

Date____

Appendix E

Out of sequence

EF CODEBOOK - CARD I

umn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
2, 3			Identification #	500-699, 700-799, 800-998
4	1		Demography	1. Washington, D.C. 2. Columbia
5	2	1-A, 2-B	Respondent	1. Mother 2. Father
6	3	2-A, 1-B	Family Type	1. One Parent 2. Two Parent
7	4	4-B	Family Structure (See Coding Manual for definitions.)	1. Simple Nuclear 2. Attenuated Nuclear 3. Incipient Extended 4. Simple Extended 5. Attenuated Extended 6. Augmented 7. Neo-local Nuclear
			Socio-Economic Status (SES) (See Coding Manual for procedures.)	
8	5	27-A, 5-B	1. Subject's (FP): Reg., Hollingshead & Redlich	1-5
9	6	27-A, 5-B	2. Subject's (FP): Mod., Hollingshead & Redlich	1-5
			3. Self Rating	
10	7	31-A	Self	1. Upper Class 2. Middle Class 3. Working Class 4. Lower Class
11	8	32-A	Parents	1-4

CODEBOOK - CARD I

Appendix E (2)

lumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9,
12	9	33-A	Grandparents	1-4
13	10	34-A	Neighbors	1-4
			Family Size (No. of children)	
			Subject's Own Children:	
14-15	11	5-A, 4-B	No. of Children	01-98
16-17	12	6-A	No. of Girls	00-98
18-19	13	6-A	No. of Boys	00-98
			Subject's FO (Siblings):	
20-21	14	19-A	No. of Children	01-98
22-23	15	19-A	No. of Girls	00-98
24-25	16	19-A	No. of Boys	00-98
			Subject's Father:	
26-27	17	22-A	No. of Girls	00-98
28-29	18	22-A	No. of Boys	00-98
30-31	19	22-A	No. of Total	01-98

olumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9,
			Subject's Father's Father	
32-33	20	22-A	No. of Girls	00-98
34-35	21	22-A	No. of Boys	00-98
36-37	22	22-A	No. of Total	01-98
			Subject's Father's Mother	
38-39	23	22-A	No. of Girls	00-98
40-41	24	22-A	No. of Boys	00-98
42-43	25	22-A	No. of Total	01-98
			Subject's Mother	
44-45	26	22-A	No. of Girls	00-98
46-47	27	22-A	No. of Boys	00-98
48-49	28	22-A	No. of Total	01-98
			Subject's Mother's Father	
50-51	29	22-A	No. of Girls	00-98
52-53	30	22-A	No. of Boys	00-98
54-55	31	22-A	No. of Total	01-98

EF CODEBOOK - CARD I

olumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 9
			Subject's Mother's Mother:	
56-57	32	22-A	No. of Girls	00-98
58-59	33	22-A	No. of Boys	00-98
60-61	34	22-A	No. of Total	01-98
			Level of Satisfaction	
		95-A	1. Physical Satisfaction:	
62	35	95-A	(a) First choice	1. Close to work 2. Close to frie 3. Close to fami 4. A good school 5. Close to faci entertainment churches 6. Only place yo find large en 7. The only plac could afford 8. Other
63	36	95-A	(b) Second choice	
64	37	95-A	(c) Third choice	
65	38	96-A	2. Compared to other Places:	1. Better 2. About the sam 3. Worse 4. Born and rais
			3. Social Satisfaction:	
66	39	101-A	Satisfied with life	1. Very happy 2. Pretty happy 3. Not too happy
67	40	102-A	Satisfied with family situation	1. Satisfactory 2. "So-so" 3. Unsatisfactor

olumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9,
			Kinship Help Patterns	
			Receiving Help:	
68	41	49-B	Amount received-family	1. A very great 2. A great deal 3. Somewhat 4. Very little 5. None at all 6. No help nee
69	42	51-B	Kinds of help-relatives	1. Child care 2. Financial 3. Emotional 4. Repairs, cho 5. Clothes, fur
70	43	51-B	Amount of kinds received-family	1. 3 or more it listed 2. 1 or 2 items 3. None of item
71	44	53-B	Kinds of help-friends(Received)	1. Child care 2. Financial 3. Emotional 4. Repairs, cho 5. Clothes, fur
72	45	53-B	Amount of kinds received-friends	1. 3 or more it listed 2. 1 or 2 items 3. None of item
73	46	56-B	Amount received-friends	1. A very grea 2. A great dea 3. Had no effe 4. none at all 5. No help nee
74	47	61-B	Change in amount received-family	1. Increased 2. Remained abo same 3. Decreased

lumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable Appendix E(6)	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
				Appendix E (6)
75	48	66-B	Attitude toward family help	1. Appreciate help, bu not expected 2. Appreciate help, and expect it 3. Appreciate help, wou be accepted 4. Hesitant to ask for 5. Do not depend on fam 6. Expect help only in emergency cases/ wou go to family only as last resort 7. Never occurred
			B. Giving Help:	
76	49	50-B	Kinds given-family	1. Child care 2. Financial 3. Emotional 4. Repairs, chores 5. Clothes, furniture
77	50	50-B	Amount of kinds given-family	1. 3 or more items lista 2. One or two items list 3. None
78	51	52-B	Kinds of help-friends (Given)	1. Child care 2. Financial 3. Emotional 4. Repairs, chores 5. Clothes, furniture
79	52	52-B	Amount of kinds given-friends	1. 3 or more items liste 2. One or two items list 3. None
80			Card Number	1

[illegible] CODEBOOK - CARD II

Appendix E (7)

mn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
1,2, 3			Identification #	500-998
4	-		Demography	1. Washington, DC 2. Columbia
5	-	1A,2B	Respondent	1. Mother 2. Father
6	53	59B	Who gives most help	1. Family 2. Friends 3. Community agencies 4. About the same 5. No help given
7	54	62B	Change in amount of help given family	1. Increased 2. About the same 3. Decreased
			Kinship Help Patterns	
			Obligations felt:	
8	55	54B	Attitude toward obligations - family	1. Given more help than r 2. Given about the same a 3. Received more help tha 4. Don't know
9	56	55B	Attitude toward obligations friends	1-4
10	57	57B	Owed for help given to you - family	1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know
11	58	58B	Owed for help given to you - friends	1-3
12	59	60B	Amount of obligation owed - family	1. Expect them always go their way for you 2. Expect help in emergen 3. Expect nothing in retu 4. Don't know

n #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
3	60	63B	Loan of money - expectation - family	1. Always expect get it back 2. Usually expect get it back 3. Rarely or never expect get back
4	61	64B	Obligated to aid less fortunate - family	1. Yes, without question 2. Usually, it depends on circumstances 3. Rarely, if ever 4. Don't know
5	62	65B	Expectation in sharing - family Obligations end here	1. A great deal of sharing is expected 2. Some sharing is expected 3. Very little sharing is expe 4. No sharing is expected
6	63	3A	Geographic Mobility How long have lived in Columbia/Washington	1. 0-2 years 2. 3-5 years 3. 6-8 years 4. 9 or more years
7	64	7A	How long have lived in dwelling	1-4
8	65	8A	What type of dwelling	Note code difference 1. Single-family detached 2. Townhouse 3. High-rise apartment 4. Low-rise apartment 5. Condominium
9	66	9A	How often have moved in past 5 years	1-6
0	67	10A	What state or country did you live in longest	1. South 2. Mid-Atlantic 3. North 4. West 5. Mid-West 6. Other country

EF CODEBOOK - CARD II

mn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
1	68	11A	Since high school age, what other states or countries have you lived in	Open ended
2	69	12A	Did your parents spend most of their lives in	1-6
3	70	13A	Type of area	1-3
4	71	14A	Did grandparents spend most of lives in	1-6
5	72	15A	Type of area	1-3
			Background Data	
6,27	73	16A	Number of boys born in family	00-98
8,29	74	17A	Number of girls born in family	00-98
0	75	18A	Does this include any children	1. Yes 2. No
1	76	19A	Sex of first born	1. Female 2. Male
2,33	77	20A	Age of father when you were born	01-98
4,35	78	21A	Age of mother when you were born	01-98
6	79	23A	Ethnic origins	1-4

EF CODEBOOK - CARD II

umn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
37,38	80	24A	Subject's religion	01-14
39,40	81	25A	Father's religion	01-14 Note: If one response is made assume for both parents
41,42	82	25A	Mother's religion	01-14 Note: If two different respor are given for Q25A, fli coin for parental deter mination
43,44	83	26A	Paternal Grandparents' religion	01-14
45,46	84	26A	Maternal Grandparents' religion	01-14
			Educational Level	
47	85	27A	Self	1. Grad. prof. training - graduate degree 2. College or univ. grad. (3-4 yr college) 3. Partial college training (yrs college, bus. or trade 4. High school grad. 5. Partial high school 6. Completion of 7th, 8th, or grade (Jr. high school) 7. Less than 7 yrs of school(8. Doesn't work
48	86	27A	Mother	1-8
49	87	27A	Father	1-8
50	88	27A	Maternal Grandfather	1-8
51	89	27A	Maternal Grandmother	1-8
52	90	27A	Paternal Grandmother	1-8
53	91	27A	Paternal Grandfather	1-8

EF CODEBOOK - CARD II

mn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
			Degrees Earned	
4	92	27A	Self	Note: If 10-12 grades checked high school diploma. If 3-4 yrs college, but degree listed, check oc if no info, assume asso 1. Doctorate (Ph.D, Ed.D) 2. Medical or law deg.(Law,MD 3. Master's degree 4. Bachelor's degree 5. AA, AS, RN, PN, Business d 6. High school diploma 7. No degree
5	93	27A	Mother	1-7
6	94	27A	Father	1-7
7	95	27A	Maternal Grandfather	1-7
8	96	27A	Maternal Grandmother	1-7
9	97	27A	Paternal Grandmother	1-7
0	98	27A	Paternal Grandfather	1-7
1	99	28A	Educational aspirations - expectations	1. ___High school 2. ___Vocational school 3. ___College (2 year)
62	100	29A	Educational aspirations - like	4. ___College (4 year) 5. ___Graduate/Professional schoo
63	101	30A	Plans for meeting college expense	1. Savings; trust funds; inve ments 2. College insurance 3. Scholarship; grant 4. Parents and child will wor 5. Educational loans 6. Other 7. No plans

EF CODEBOOK - CARD II

umn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
			Occupations	
64	102	5B	Self	Note: Be sure it's identical Hollingshead-Redlich. 1. Executives & proprietors concerns; major professio 2. Managers & proprietors of size businesses; lesser p sionals 3. Admin. personnel; owners small independent busines semi-professionals 4. Owners of little business clerical workers; sales; technicians 5. Skilled 6. Semi-skilled 7. Unskilled 8. Doesn't work
65	103	35A	Father	1-8
66	104	36A	Mother	1-8
67	105	37A	Maternal employment, 1-5	1-4 { 1 Yes full-time 2 Yes part-time 3 No 4 Don't know
68	106	38A	Maternal employment, 6-10	1-4
69	107	39A	Paternal Grandfather	1-8
70	108	40A	Paternal Grandmother	1-8
71	109	41A	Maternal Grandfather	1-8
72	110	42A	Maternal Grandmother	1-8

mn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
			Income	
73,74	111	43A	Self	01-10 11. 40-44 12. 45-49 13. 50-54 14. 55+
75,76	112	44A	Family	Code first digit in 1,000's (ex.: 5,900=06; 50,000=50 11,600=12)
77-79			BLANK	
80			Card No. II	2

EF CODEBOOK - CARD III

Appendix E (14)

lumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 9
1, 2, 3			Identification #	500-699; 700-799; 800-998
4	-		Demography	1. Washington, D.C. 2. Columbia
5	-		Respondent	1. Mother 2. Father
			Faith in People Scale	
6	~~113~~	86-A	Sometimes I feel alone in the world	1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree
7	114	87-A	I worry about future facing today's children	1-5
8	115	88-A	Not invited out often by friends	1-5
9	116	89-A	End often justifies means	1-5
10	117	90-A	Most people seldom feel lonely	1-5
11	118	91-A	Feeling that other people are using me	1-5
12	119	92-A	People change ideas	1-5
13	120	93-A	Friends are easy to find	1-5
14	121	94-A	Responsible for development of child	1-5
15	~~122~~	95-A	Reasons for other	Open ended

umn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 99
16	123	97-A	Own, rent home	1-3
17	124	98-A	Own or rent place before	1-4
18	125	99-A	Relatives visit you	1-3
19	126	100-A	You visit your relatives	1-3
	NOTE: For Single Parent Forms - The questions (12-42) added on are based on information from spouse's family. They should be coded in the same manner that a father's cards would be coded. They should not be added to this parent's card. Code 9 for any missing dat			
			Main Interview	
20,21	127	3-B	People in house	01-98
22	128	4-B	Household	Refer to code as for fami structure (i.e. 1-nuclear 2-attenuated)
23	129	5-B	Number of full time employed	0-8 (For fathers, code missing
24	130	6-B	Number of part time employed	0-8 (For fathers, code missing
25	131	7-B	Reason for job changes	1-4
26-27	132	8-9-B	Open ended	BLANK
28	133	10-B	Skin, hair important	1-3
29	134	10-B	Leave open	
30	135	11-B	African remnants	1-2

EF CODEBOOK - CARD III

(Appendix E 16)

mn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
31	136	12-B	Black culture unique	1-3
32	137	13-B	Unexpected $1,000	1-8
33	138	*(M) 14-B	Employed - first 5 years	1-3
34	139	(M) 15-B	Child cared for by	1-8
35	140	(M) 17-B	Child care, social occasions	1-6
36	141	(M) 18-B	Take care other kids	1, 2
			Decision Making	
37	142	19-B	Buy car	1. Father 2. Mother 3. Both 4. Other relatives 5. Children 6. Friends 7. Equally among family membe
38	143	20-B	Buy insurance	1-7
39	144	21-B	Take house	1-7
40	145	22-B	Wife work	1-7
41	146	23-B	When ill	1-7
42	147	24-B	Birth control	1-7
43	148	25-B	Spend for food	1-7
44	149	26-B	Television programs	1-7

*Asked only of mothers.

EF CODEBOOK - CARD III

(Appendix E 17)

lumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
45	150	27-B	Child's jobs	1-7
46	151	28-B	Child's curfew	1-7
47	152	29-B	Jobs parents take Parental Sex Roles	1-7
48	153	30-B	Share work equally	1-4
49	154	31-B	Female stereotyped jobs	1. Yes 2. No
50	155	32-B	Male stereotyped jobs	1-2
51	156	33-B	Women's liberation and Black women	Open ended
52	157	34-B	Mother offered good job - move	1-4
53	158	35-B	Black male - female	Open ended
54	159	36-B	Persons lived in FO	1-7 (Code as for family May be recoded as o
55			BLANK	
56	160	37-B	Just like kin	1. Yes 2. No
57	161	38-B	Like which relatives	1. Parents 2. Grandparents 3. Siblings 4. Aunts, Uncles 5. Cousins 6. In-laws
58			BLANK	

EF CODEBOOK - CARD III

Appendix E 18)

mn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
59	162	39-B	Now, just like kin	1. Yes 2. No
60	163	40-B	Like which relative	1-6
, 62	164	*(M) 41-B	How many relatives close to	01-98
63	165	(M) 42-B	How often visit close relatives	1-6 1.___Almost every day. 2.___Once or twice a week. 3.___Once or twice a month
64	166	(M) 43-B	Often contact close relatives	1-6 4.___Every other month. 5.___Few times a year. 6.___About once a year.
65	167	(M) 44-B	How far from close relatives	1-5
66	168	(M) 45-B	Evaluation of contact with close relatives	1-3
67	169	(M) 46-B	Evaluation of contact with close friends	1-3
68	170	(M) 47-B	Relatives living in south	1, 2
69	171	(M) 48-B	Send children back home	1-3
			(#'s 49-58 coded Cards I & II)	
70	172	59-B	Who has given most help	1-5
			(#'s 60-66 coded Cards I & II)	

*Asked of mothers only.

EF CODEBOOK - CARD III

(Appendix E 19)

umn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
71	173	67-B	Organizations members of	1. Educational 2. Social 3. Political 4. Service; Religious 5. Equally in all groups NOTE: 3 out code 2 out flip
72	174	68-B	Race, organizations	1-3 NOTE: Code "most Black" "all Black".
73	175	69-B	Race, social groups	1-3
74	176	70-B	Race of, groups participated in	1, 2
75	177	71-B	All Black group participation	1. Increased 2. About the same 3. Decreased
76	178	72-B	Frequency, all Black group	1-4
77	179	73-B	Saturday social activity	1,2
78	180	74-B	Family crises	Open ended
79	181	75-B	Life expectancy	Open ended
80			Card number III	3

olumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 9
2, 3			Identification	500-699; 700-799; 800-
4	-		Demography	1. Washington, D.C. 2. Columbia
5	-		Respondent	1. Mother 2. Father
			Community Support Service	
6	182	76.1B	Job training	1. Yes 9. Don't kn 2. No
7	183	76.2B	Job placement	1,2
8	184	76.3B	Educational facilities	1,2
9	185	76.4B	Child care facilities	1,2
10	186	76.5B	Community information to Blacks	1,2
11	187	76.6B	Public transportation	1,2
12	188	76.7B	Health care	1,2
13	189	76.8B	Recreational facilities	1,2
14	190	76.9aB	Counseling	1,2 (If answer to any next 4 is "yes", code "1" here.)
15	191	76.9bB	Marriage	1,2
16	192	76.9cB	Child	1,2
17	193	76.9dB	Personal therapy	1,2
18	194	76.9eB	Financial	1,2

EF CODEBOOK - CARD IV

Appendix E (21)

lumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9
19	195	M 77	Helping agencies	Open ended
20	196	M 78	Community organization helped	1-4
21	197	79	Ideal family support system	Open ended
NOTE:	The following questions are asked only on a sub-group. If missing, Code "9" all columns.			
22	198	80B	Blacks reaise children differently	1. Yes 2. No 3. Maybe 4. Don't know
23	199	81	Blacks more protective	1. More 2. Less 3. Same 4. Don't know
24	200	82	Blacks as strict as whites	1-4
25	201	83	Family history important	1. Yes 2. No
26	202	84	Stories about former relative	1. Yes 2. Sometimes 3. Rarely 4. No
27	203	85	Tell stories about famous Black people	1. Yes 2. No
28	204	86	Television portray Blacks accurately	1. Yes 2. No
29	205	87	Black on television, positive or negative	1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Neutral
30	206		Blank	

EF CODEBOOK - CARD IV

lumn #	Variable #	Question # Form B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99
31	207	89-B	Raising kids differently	1. Yes 2. No
32	208	90-B	Child needs priority	1. Yes 2. Sometimes 3. No
33	209	91-B	Sex of education preference	1. Male 3.No pre 2. Female
34	210	92a-B	Care of child, parent cannot	1. Parents 2. Grandparents 3. Siblings 4. Aunts, Uncles 5. Cousins 6. In-laws 7. Non-relative
35	211	92b -B	Relationship of person	1-7
36	212	92c-B	Person raise child differently	1. Yes 2. Maybe 3. No
37	213	93-B	Role as only Black	1. Assertive 2. Passive 3. Both 4. Depends 5. Don't know
38	214	94a-B	White called child "nigger"	Open ended
39	215	94b-B	What to do?	Open ended
40	216	95a-B	Black called child "nigger"	Open ended
41	217	95b-B	What to do?	Open ended
		96-B	Three important things about family:	Open ended
42	218		First:	
43	219		Second:	
44	220		Third:	

lumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99,
			Interview Comments	
45	221	1-B	Respondent attitude	1.Very helpful 2.Helpful 3.Passive - neither helped nor hindered 4.Resistant 5.Very resistant
46	222	2-B	Validity of responses	1.Honest & open on al 2.Honest on most 3.Deceptive & evasive on most 4.Very few, if any, honest answers.
47	223	3-B	Respondent tense	1.Calm 2.Tense 3.Relaxed
48	224	4-B	Order of home	1.Very neat 2.Orderly 3.Lived in 4.Cluttered
49	225	5-B	Type of furniture	1.Assorted 2.Contemporary 3.Italian, French Pro 4.Colonial
50	226	6-B	Atmosphere of decoration	1.Formal 2.Casual 3.Relaxed
			Standard Hollingshead-Redlich SES (If information missing on one spouse, use the other's)	
51	227		Father	1-5 Obtain from SES Scori Sheet
52	228		Mother	1-5 Obtain from SES Scori Sheet

olumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9,
53	229		Father's Father	1-5 Obtain from SES S Sheet
54	230		Father's Mother	1-5
55	231		Mother's Father	1-5
56	232		Mother's Mother	1-5
			Modified Hollingshead-Redlich SES (If missing information on one spouse, use information other.)	
57	233		Father	1-5 Obtain from SES Sc Sheet
58	234		Mother	1-5
59	235		Father's Father	1-5
60	236		Father's Mother	1-5
61	237		Mother's Father	1-5
62	238		Mother's Mother	1-5

EF CODEBOOK - CARD IV

Appendix E (25)

olumn #	Variable #	Question # Form A or B	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9, 99, 999
			Decision Making (11Q)	
63	239	19-B	Buy car	1. Father 2. Both 3. Mother 9. All other responses
64	240	20-B	Buy insurance	1, 2, 3
65	241	21-B	Take house	1, 2, 3
66	242	22-B	Wife work	1, 2, 3
67	243	23-B	When ill	1, 2, 3
68	244	24-B	Birth control	1, 2, 3
69	245	25-B	Spend for food	1, 2, 3
70	246	26-B	Television programs	1, 2, 3
71	247	27-B	Child's jobs	1, 2, 3
72	248	28-B	Child's curfew	1, 2, 3
73	249	29-B	Jobs parents take	1, 2, 3
74	250	4-A	Current marital status	1.Single 4.Separat 2.Married 5.Divorce 3.Common Law 6.Widowed
75	251	(M) 16-B	Feelings about arrangements for child care	1.Satisfied 2.Workable, could be bett 3.Dissatisfied 4.Don't need care
76-79			BLANK	
80				Card IV

B= 2nd Interview (Main)

EF CODEBOOK Appendix E (26)

Card V

Column #	Variable #	Question #	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data, 9.
1,2,3			Identification #	500-998,
4			Demography	1. Washington, D 2. Columbia
5			Respondent	1. Mother 2. Father
6				Blank
			Stressful Life Events	
7,8,9,10	252		Total- 2 years	0000-~~9998~~ 1182
11,12	253		Frequency- 2 years	00-~~98~~49
13,14,15	254		Total- 6 months	000-998
16,17	255		Frequency- 6 months	00-~~98~~49
18				Blank
			Locus of Control	
19,20	256	46-84=	Total	00-~~98~~ 39
21,22	257	46-58	Factor I- Control Ideology	00-~~98~~13
23	258	59-63	Factor II- Personal Control	0-~~8~~5
24	259	64-67	Factor III- System Modifiability	0-8 4
25,26	260	68-77	Factor IV- Race Ideology	00-~~98~~10
27	261	69,70	Factor V- Individual-Collective Action	0-~~8~~2
28	262	65,67,83	Factor VI- Discrimination Modifiability	0-~~8~~3
29	263	68,71,74,76	Factor VII- Individual-System Blame	0-~~8~~4
30	264	72,73,75,77	Factor VIII- Racial Militancy	0-~~8~~4
31-79			BLANK	BLANK
80				Card V

A= Self Administered
B= Main Interview

EF CODEBOOK

Card VI

Column #	Variable #	Question #	Name of Variable	Code # Missing Data 9
1,2,3			Identification #	500-699, 700-7 800-998
4			Demography	1. Washington, 2. Columbia
5			Respondent	1. Mother 2. Father
6				Blank
			Mobility Direction Pattern	
7	265		Self Rating	0-8
8	266		SES- Regular	0-8
9	267		SES- Modified	0-8
10	268		Education	0-8
11	269		Occupation	0-8
12			BLANK	BLANK
13,14	270		Decision-Making Total	11-33
15,16	271		Faith In People	09-55
17-79				Blank
80				Card VI

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewer________________________________

Interviewer's Telephone Number_______________________

Dear Parent,

We are doing a study on Black families and you are being asked to take part. Any information you can give will help us to construct an accurate picture of stable Black families. We want to see what changes occur over two or three generations.

All replies are strictly confidential. Only group averages will be recorded. No single individual or family will be identified in the project and your name will not appear on the form. You will be given an ID number now, and when the form is turned in at the office, a second ID number will be given your family. This way, not even your interviewer will be able to find out what you said.

To take part in this study, we are asking you to sign the permission sheet and fill out the attached questionnaire. One of our interviewers will drop by in a few days to pick up the form. We would then like to interview your spouse, if he/she lives in the home. Afterwards, we would like to give you a gift certificate for your cooperation.

This study is being sponsored by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. If you have any questions, or if there is any specific time you would want us to stop in, please call me at the above number, or at our Project's office. The numbers there are: 596-4451 or 997-7971.

Thank you for your help.

Harriette and John McAdoo, Ph. D.

Beulah Newby, M.S.W.

Willetta Pipes, B.A.

(SP)

2/19/76

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE

Check One: ☐ Mother and her family
☐ Father and his family

The attached questionnaire is for you to fill out in your spare time. Please answer all questions.

We will return to pick up the completed questionnaire(s) on:

______________________Date

______________________AM/PM (Time)

After the last interview, we would like to give you a $15.00 gift certificate as a token of our appreciation for participating. If you know of any other Black families in the neighborhood who might like to take part in this study, please let us know.

Should you have any questions, or if there is a change in your schedule, please let us know at the Family Research Project:

596-4451 or 997-7971.

2/19/76

ID Number ____________________

ID Number ____________________

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS!

1. ___ Mother   2. ___ Single Parent

___ Father   ___ Two-Parent

3. How long have you been living in Columbia/Washington? __________ (years)

4. What is your current marital status:

1. ___ Single   4. ___ Separated
2. ___ Married   5. ___ Divorced
3. ___ Common Law   6. ___ Widowed

5. How many children do you have? ____________

6. What are their sex and ages? __________ __________ __________ __________ __________
(Ex.: Boy 14, Girl 10)

7. How long have you been living in this dwelling? ________ (years)

8. What type of dwelling?

1. ___ Single-family detached house
2. ___ Low-rise apartment house
3. ___ High-rise apartment house
4. ___ Townhouse
5. ___ Condominium

9. How often have you moved in the past five years?

1. ___ Never moved in 5 years
2. ___ Once in 5 years
3. ___ 2 to 4 times
4. ___ 5 to 7 times
5. ___ 8 to 10 times
6. ___ More than 10 times

10. When you were growing up, what state or country did you live in the longest?

____

11. Since high school age, what states or countries have you lived in for more than a year?

Please go on to next page .....

12. Did your parents spend most of their lives in the

1. ___South
2. ___Mid-Atlantic
3. ___North
4. ___West
5. ___Mid-West
6. ___Other country

13. Was this in a ____________ area?

1. ___Rural
2. ___Small town
3. ___Urban

14. What about your grandparents? Were they in the

1. ___South
2. ___Mid-Atlantic
3. ___North
4. ___West
5. ___Mid-West
6. ___Other country

15. Was this a __________ area?

1. ___Rural
2. ___Small town
3. ___Urban

16. How many brothers were born in your family? _________

17. How many sisters were born in your family? ________

18. Does this include any children from other unions (step- or half-sisters)?

____

19. Including yourself, please fill this in, starting with the first-born. Put a star by yourself (*).

	Sex	Year of Birth
1st born	___	_____
2nd born	___	_____
3rd	___	_____
4th	___	_____
5th	___	_____
6th	___	_____
7th	___	_____
8th	___	_____
9th	___	_____
10th	___	_____

20. How old was your father when you were born? _____

21. How old was your mother when you were born? _____

Go on to next page..

22. Fill in this chart in the space provided. Put down the number of children in the families of your relatives.

	No. of Girls	No. of Boys
Father	___	___
Father's father	___	___
Father's mother	___	___
Mother	___	___
Mother's father	___	___
Mother's mother	___	___

23. What are your (you and your parents') ethnic origins?

1. ___Black, Afro-American, Negro
2. ___African
3. ___West Indies
4. ___Other Which country? ______________

24. What religion are you?

1. ___Baptist
2. ___Methodist (CME, AME, Zions)
3. ___Methodist (United)
4. ___Catholic
5. ___Jehovah's Witness
6. ___Christian Scientist
7. ___Muslim or Moslem
8. ___Seventh Day Adventist
9. ___Pentecostal
10. ___Episcopal
11. ___Presbyterian
12. ___Jewish
13. ___No religion
14. ___Other

25. What religions were (are) your parents?

1. ___Baptist
2. ___Methodist (CME, AME, Zions)
3. ___Methodist (United)
4. ___Catholic
5. ___Jehovah's Witness
6. ___Christian Scientist
7. ___Muslim or Moslem
8. ___Seventh Day Adventist
9. ___Pentecostal
10. ___Episcopal
11. ___Presbyterian
12. ___Jewish
13. ___No religion
14. ___Other

Go on to next page .....

26. What religions were your grandparents?

____________ ____________ ____________ ____________

27. We would like to know the highest grade level that you, your parents, and your grandparents achieved in school. Please check (✓) the appropriate level below.

	You	Your Mother	Your Father	Mother's Father	Mother's Mother	Father's Mother	Father's Father
Grade School (K-6)							
Junior High School (7-9)							
High School (10-12)							
Trade School							
Business School							
1-2 year college							
3-4 year college							
Graduate or professional school							
DEGREE							

28. What is the least amount of education that you expect for your children?

1. ___High school
2. ___Vocational school
3. ___College (2 year)
4. ___College (4 year)
5. ___Graduate/Professional school

29. What level of education would you like to have your children receive?

1. ___High school
2. ___Vocational school
3. ___College (2 year)
4. ___College (4 year)
5/ ___Graduate/Professional school

30. Recently we read that it may soon cost $30,000 to send a child through college, or for advanced training. What plans have you made for meeting this bill? What are some of them?

How would you define your status? Where would you place

	31. Your own family	32. Your parents' family	33. Your grandparents' family	34. Most of your neighbors
1.Upper class	______	______	______	______
2.Middle class	______	______	______	______
3.Working class	______	______	______	______
4.Lower class	______	______	______	______

Go on to next page .....

35. What was your father's primary occupation? ________________

36. What was your mother's primary occupation? ________________

37. Did your mother work during the first five years of your life?

1. ___Yes, full time
2. ___Yes, part-time
3. ___No
4. ___Don't know

38. Did your mother work when you were between the ages of six through ten?

1. ___Yes, full time
2. ___Yes, part-time
3. ___No
4. ___Don't know

39. What was your father's father's primary occupation? ___________________

40. What was your father's mother's primary occupation? ___________________

41. What was your mother's father's primary occupation? ___________________

42. What was your mother's mother's primary occupation? ___________________

43. Approximately what was your income last year (before taxes)?

1. ___Under $3,999
2. ___$4,000 - 7,999
3. ___$8,000 - 10,999
4. ___$11,000 - 13,999
5. ___$14,000 - 16,999
6. ___$17,000 - 19,999
7. ___$20,000 - 24,999
8. ___$25,000 - 29,999
9. ___$30,000 - 34,999
10. ___$35,000 - plus

44. What was your family's approximate total income last year (before taxes)?

$ ________________

Go on to next page .....

45. Below is a list of events or things that can happen to a family. Read down the list and place a check next to those events which occurred in your family over the last two years, or within the past six months. Check only one line by each event.

Past 6 mos. to 2 yrs.	Past Six Mos.	Event
___	___	Illness, in bed for week or more
___	___	Illness, less serious
___	___	Major change in eating habits
___	___	Major change in sleeping habits
___	___	Change in type and/or amount of recreation
___	___	Major dental work
___	___	Change to new type of work
___	___	Change of work hours or conditions
___	___	Change in responsibilities at work
___	___	Experienced troubles at work
___	___	Experienced a major business readjustment
___	___	Change in residence
___	___	Change in family "get-togethers"
___	___	Change in health or behavior of a family member
___	___	Experienced death of close family member
___	___	Experienced death of a close friend
___	___	Experienced change in the marital status of your parents
___	___	Have gotten married
___	___	Change in arguments with spouse
___	___	Undergone a separation from spouse
___	___	Had a reconciliation with spouse
___	___	Experienced divorce from spouse
___	___	Experienced gain of a new family member
___	___	Change in spouse working outside the home, either beginning or ceasing
___	___	Experienced pregnancy, of wife or self
___	___	Experienced a child leaving home
___	___	Undergone a miscarriage or abortion, of wife or self
___	___	Experienced birth of a grandchild
___	___	Undergone a major personal achievement
___	___	Had a change in your personal habits
___	___	Undergone any sexual difficulties
___	___	Undergone a change of school or college
___	___	Had a vacation
___	___	Experienced change in your religious beliefs
___	___	Had a change in your social activities
___	___	Had any minor violation of the law
___	___	Experienced any serious legal troubles
___	___	Had a change in your political beliefs
___	___	Experienced new close personal relationship
___	___	Had an engagement to marry
___	___	Experienced "falling out" of a close personal relationship
___	___	Had any girlfriend or boyfriend problems
___	___	Experienced loss or damage of personal property
___	___	Had an accident
___	___	Needed to make a major decision regarding your immediate future
___	___	Taken on a moderate purchase, such as a TV, car, etc.
___	___	Taken on a major purchase or mortgage loan, such as a home, business, property, etc.
___	___	Experienced a foreclosure on a mortgage or loan
___	___	Experienced a major change in finances

Go on to next page.....

Here we are attempting to learn how people feel about their environment. There is no right or wrong answer. Don't take too much time. Since the two choices to each question may not be exactly how you feel, we would appreciate your circling the response that is closest to your feelings. Check either a or b in each question, not both.

46. a.___ Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.

    b.___ Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

47. a.___ No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you.

    b.___ People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

48. a.___ In the case of the well-prepared student, there is rarely, if ever, such a thing as an unfair test.

    b.___ Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.

49. a.___ Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

    b.___ Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

50. a.___ Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.

    b.___ Who gets to be boss depends on who has the skill and ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

51. a.___ It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.

    b.___ How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

52. a.___ Without the right breaks, one cannot be an effective leader.

    b.___ Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

53. a.___ Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.

    b.___ There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

Go on to next page .....

54. a.__ Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead.

b.__ People will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it.

55. a.__ Leadership positions tend to go to capable people who deserve being chosen.

b.__ It's hard to know why some people get leadership positions and others don't; ability doesn't seem to be the important factor.

56. a.__ People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way.

b.__ Some people just don't use the breaks that come their way. If they don't do well, it's their own fault.

57. a.__ Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.

b.__ There really is no such thing as "luck".

58. a.__ People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.

b.__ There's not much use in trying too hard to please people; if they like you, they like you.

59. a.__ I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.

b.__ Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

60. a.__ What happens to me is my own doing.

b.__ Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

61. a.__ When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.

b.__ It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

62. a.__ In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.

b.__ Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

Go on to next page .....

63. a.__Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.

b.__It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck play an important role in my life.

64. a.__As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.

b.__By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.

65. a.__Racial discrimination is here to stay.

b.__People may be prejudiced but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of open discrimination.

66. a.__One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.

b.__There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

67. a.__The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination.

b.__We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.

68. a.__It's lack of skill and abilities that keeps many Blacks from getting a job. It's not just because they're Black. When a Black is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.

b.__Many qualified Blacks can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.

69. a.__The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual Black to make sure he gets the best training possible for what he wants to do.

b.__Only if Blacks pull together in civil rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.

70. a.__The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressures and social action.

b.__The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified white person.

Go on to next page .....

71. a.__Many Blacks who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to whites.

b.__Blacks may not have the same opportunities as whites, but many Blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

72. a.__Blacks would be better off and the cause of civil rights advanced if there were fewer demonstrations.

b.__The only way Blacks will gain their civil rights is by constant protest and pressure.

73. a.__Depending on bi-racial committees is just a dodge. Talking and understanding without constant protest and pressure will never solve problems of discrimination.

b.__Talking and understanding as opposed to protest and pressure is the best way to solve racial discrimination.

74. a.__Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better.

b.__When two qualified people, one Black and one white, are considered for the same job, the Black won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.

75. a.__Organized action is one approach to handling discrimination, but there are probably very few situations that couldn't be handled better by Black leaders talking with white leaders.

b.__Most discriminatory situations simply can't be handled without organized pressure and group action.

76. a.__The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Blacks. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're a Black.

b.__The problem for many Blacks is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Black who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.

77. a.__Discrimination affects all Black people. The only way to handle it is for blacks to organize together and demand rights for all Blacks.

b.__Discrimination may affect all Blacks but the best way to handle it is for each individual Black to act like any other American--work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.

Go on to next page .....

78. a.__Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.

b.__People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

79. a.__In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.

b.__Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

80. a.__The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.

b.__Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

81. a.__The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.

b.__This world is run by the few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

82. a.__With enough effort, we can wipe out political corruption.

b.__It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

83. a.__The so-called "white backlash" shows once again that whites are so opposed to Blacks getting their rights that it's practically impossible to end discrimination in America.

b.__The so-called "white backlash" has been exaggerated. Certainly enough whites support the goals of the Black cause for Americans to see considerable progress in wiping out discrimination.

84. a.__If a Black person only tries hard enough, he can get ahead despite opposition from whites.

b.__It's true that an individual Black can get ahead by hard work, but every Black will sometime face discrimination or opposition that can't be solved by individual effort alone.

85. What is your reaction to these questions? (Questions 42 - 80). How did you feel about answering them?

Go on to next page .....

Below are some statements regarding public issues with which some people agree and others disagree. There are no right or wrong answers. We would like you to check the blank that closely fits your opinion about the statement.

Please check the appropriate blank, as follows:

____ SA (Strongly Agree)
____ A (Agree)
____ U (Uncertain)
____ D (Disagree)
____ SD (Strongly Disagree)

86. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

87. I worry about the future facing today's children.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

88. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

89. The end often justifies the means.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

90. Most people today seldom feel lonely.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

91. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

92. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

93. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

94. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

Go on to next page .....

95. What were the reasons for living or moving here in Columbia/Washington? Was it because: (please check the top three, putting a "1" by the most important reason, a "2" by the next most important, and a "3" by the third most important.)

______Close to work

______Close to friends

______Close to family

______A good school system

______Close to facilities or entertainment

______Close to churches

______The only place you could find

______The only place you could afford

______A large apartment/house (enough rooms)

______Other. Explain ____

96. Compared with other places you have lived, is this area better, worse, or about the same?

1.______Better

2.______Worse

3.______About the same

97. Do you own this home, pay rent, or what?

1.______Own home

2.______Pay rent

3.______Other. Explain ____

98. Did you own or rent the place you lived in before moving here?

1.______Always lived here

2.______Owned

3.______Rented

4.______Other

Go on to next page .....

99. How easy is it for your relatives to visit you ?

1. ___Very easy.
2. ___Somewhat difficult.
3. ___Very difficult.

100. How easy is it for you to visit your relatives?

1. ___Very easy.
2. ___Somewhat difficult.
3. ___Very difficult.

101. In general, how happy would you say you are?

1. ___Very happy.
2. ___Pretty happy.
3. ___Not too happy.

102. In general, thinking about your present family situation, would you say it is:

1. ___Satisfactory.
2. ___"So-So" .
3. ___Unsatisfactory.

THANK YOU!

For single parent families, please fill out these questions on information about the other parent. This may be difficult but try to fill out as many questions as you can.

12. Did your parents spend most of their lives in the

1. ___South
2. ___Mid-Atlantic
3. ___North
4. ___West
5. ___Mid-West
6. ___Other country

13. Was this in a ____________ area?

1. ___Rural
2. ___Small town
3. ___Urban

14. What about your grandparents? Were they in the

1. ___South
2. ___Mid-Atlantic
3. ___North
4. ___West
5. ___Mid-West
6. ___Other country

15. Was this a __________area?

1. ___Rural
2. ___Small town
3. ___Urban

16. How many brothers were born in your family? _________

17. How many sisters were born in your family? ________

18. Does this include any children from other unions (step- or half-sisters)?

____

19. Including yourself, please fill this in, starting with the first-born. Put a star by yourself (*).

	Sex	Year of Birth
1st born	___	_____
2nd born	___	_____
3rd	___	_____
4th	___	_____
5th	___	_____
6th	___	_____
7th	___	_____
8th	___	_____
9th	___	_____
10th	___	_____

20. How old was your father when you were born? _____

21. How old was your mother when you were born? _____

Go on to next page .....

22. Fill in this chart in the space provided. Put down the number of children in the families of your relatives.

	No. of Girls	No. of Boys
Father	____	____
Father's father	____	____
Father's mother	____	____
Mother	____	____
Mother's father	____	____
Mother's mother	____	____

23. What are your (you and your parents') ethnic origins?

1. ___Black, Afro-American, Negro
2. ___African
3. ___West Indies
4. ___Other

Which country? ______________

24. What religion are you?

1. ___Baptist
2. ___Methodist (CME, AME, Zions)
3. ___Methodist (United)
4. ___Catholic
5. ___Jehovah's Witness
6. ___Christian Scientist
7. ___Muslim or Moslem
8. ___Seventh Day Adventist
9. ___Pentecostal
10. ___Episcopal
11. ___Presbyterian
12. ___Jewish
13. ___No religion
14. ___Other

25. What religions were (are) your parents?

1. ___Baptist
2. ___Methodist (CME, AME, Zions)
3. ___Methodist (United)
4. ___Catholic
5. ___Jehovah's Witness
6. ___Christian Scientist
7. ___Muslim or Moslem
8. ___Seventh Day Adventist
9. ___Pentecostal
10. ___Episcopal
11. ___Presbyterian
12. ___Jewish
13. ___No religion
14. ___Other

Go on to next page .....

26. What religions were your grandparents?

______________ ______________ ______________ ______________

27. We would like to know the highest grade level that you, your parents, and your grandparents achieved in school. Please check (✓) the appropriate level below.

		Your	Your	Mother's		Father's	
	You	Mother	Father	Father	Mother	Mother	Father
Grade School (K-6)							
Junior High School (7-9)							
High School (10-12)							
Trade School							
Business School							
1-2 year college							
3-4 year college							
Graduate or professional school							
DEGREE							

Remember to answer these questions from the point of view of the other parent, your husband/your wife.

35. What was your father's primary occupation? ______________

36. What was your mother's primary occupation? ______________

37. Did your mother work during the first five years of your life?

1. ___Yes, full time
2. ___Yes, part-time
3. ___No
4. ___Don't know

38. Did your mother work when you were between the ages of six through ten?

1. ___Yes, full time
2. ___Yes, part-time
3. ___No
4. ___Don't know

39. What was your father's father's primary occupation? ______________

40. What was your father's mother's primary occupation? ______________

41. What was your mother's father's primary occupation? ______________

42. What was your mother's mother's primary occupation? ______________

Appendix H

ID Number ________________

ID Number ________________

MAIN INTERVIEW

Notes to Interviewer:

If question has (M) in the lefthand margin, only ask of mother. If nothing is in margin, ask both parents. If a single parent, ask all questions.

1. Family:

   1.___Two-parent
   2.___One-parent

2. Parent responding:

   1.___Mother
   2.___Father

We would like to get your opinions about your family specifically, and about Black families in general. Let's begin by talking about the people who live here.

3. How many people live in this house? ________

(M) 4. Let's start with the youngest:

	a. Sex	b. How old is he/she?	c. What is his/her relationship to you?	d. Is he/she blood kin?	e. Highest grade or degree	f. Length of residence in home
Youngest						
Next Oldest						
Next Oldest						
Yourself						

Probe: Anybody else?

(M) 5. Of the people living here, including yourself, which ones are employed on a full time basis? (Be sure to include the respondent). What is their job?

Relationship to you	Job Title

(Use back for additional people.)

6. Of the people living here, including yourself, which ones are employed on a part-time basis? What is their job?

Relationship to you	Job Title
______________	______________
______________	______________
______________	______________
______________	______________

(Use back for additional people.)

7. In general, when members of your family have changed jobs, have they:

1.___Generally moved into a better job? (If asked: more pay, greater authority, etc.)
2.___Moved to a similar position.
3.___Generally moved down in jobs.
4.___No job changes in last 5 years.

8. Some people feel that status or social class is different for Blacks than for whites. What do you think? Is it different? In what way?

9. Skin color and hair type have sometimes been said to affect a person's status in the Black community. What do you think?

10. Are skin color or hair type important to you?

1.___Not important
2.___Important ----------
3.___Very Important ----

--→Probe: In what way?

11. There has been a controversy about whether or not some remnants of African culture exist in the Black community today. What do you think?

1.___Some remnants exist.
2.___No remnants exist.

Probe.

12. In your opinion, is there anything about Black American culture that is unique and therefore is not shared by everyone else?

1.___No
2.___Don't know
3.___Yes---------→Probe: What? Can you give examples?

13. If you had an unexpected $1000, what would you do with it? (Read responses, check one.)

1.___Pay bills.
2.___Have a nice vacation.
3.___Fix up your home.
4.___Put it into savings.
5.___Invest it.
6.___Use it for a child's education.
7.___Buy a new car.
8.___Other

(M) 14. During the first 5 years of your youngest child's life, were you employed?

1.___Yes, full time
2.___Yes, part-time
3.___No

(M) 15. Who usually takes care of your children, when you are employed?

1.___Spouse
2.___Friend
3.___Relative (Relationship________________)
4.___Babysitting coop
5.___Nursery or day care center
6.___Paid sitter
7.___None needed, kids in school
8.___Has never worked, therefore situation has not arisen.

(M) 16. How do you feel about your arrangements?

(M) 17. Who takes care of your children when you go out on social occasions?

1.___Friend
2.___Relative
3.___Paid babysitter
4.___Coop
5.___Exchange with friends
6.___Other (Specify_____________________)

(M) 18. Do you ever take care of other people's children, or let them sleep over when their parents are out?

1.___Yes
2.___No

Decision Making

(Hand Interviewee a card with relatives listed. Put code by questions.)

19.___Who decides what car to buy?

20.___Who decide whether to buy life and health insurance?

21.___Who decides what house or apartment to take?

22.___Who decides whether or not the wife should go to work?

23.___Who decides what to do when someone is ill?

24.___Who decides if birth control should be used?

25.___Who decides how much money the family has to spend per week for food?

26.___Who decides what T.V. program the family will watch?

27.___Who decides what jobs the children should do around the house?

28.___Who decides how late the child may stay out at night?

29.___Who decides what jobs the parents should take?

30. Should the husband and wife equally share the household work?

1.___Yes
2.___No, wife should do more.
3.___No, husband should do more.
4.___Paid helpers do most of the work.

31. In your household, are there jobs that are done only by women?

1.___Yes 2.___No (Probe for either reply.)

32. In your household, are there jobs that are done only by men?

1.___Yes 2.___No (Probe for either reply.)

33. Does the women's liberation movement have any relevance for you, your spouse, and Black women? Please explain.

Probe: What about in your family?

34. If the mother of a family is offered a good job opportunity in a distant city, what should be done.?

1.___Find job for husband also.
2.___Move family for her.
3.___Have her refuse the job.
4.___Other solution. Please explain.

35. Often one reads articles that state that Black males and females have trouble dealing with each other. What do you think about this?

36. While you were growing up, who lived with you during most of your childhood?

1.___Mother
2.___Father
3.___Brothers
4.___Sisters
5.___Aunt
6.___Uncle
7.___Grandmother
8.___Grandfather
9.___Niece(s)
10.___Nephew(s)
11.___Cousin(s)
12.___Brother-in-law
13.___Sister-in-law
14.___Unrelated children
15.___Unrelated adults
16.___Others

37. When you were growing up, were there people who were not related but who were close to you - just like kin?

1.___No (go to #39)
2.___Yes (go to #38)

38. Were they like: (check all that apply)

1.___an aunt
2.___an uncle
3.___a sister
4.___a brother
5.___a parent
6.___a grandparent
7.___a cousin
8.___other (please explain)

39. Do you have people now who are just like kin?

1.___No (go to #41)
2.___Yes (go to #40)

40. Are they like: (check all that apply) (Fathers go on to #49 after this question is answered.)

1.___an aunt
2.___an uncle
3.___a sister
4.___a brother
5.___a parent
6.___a grandparent
7.___a cousin
8.___other (please explain)

(M) 41. In general, how many relatives do you have that you feel close to?______(number)

(M) 42. On the average, how often do you see those close relatives?

1.___Almost every day.
2.___Once or twice a week.
3.___Once or twice a month.
4.___Every other month.
5.___Few times a year.
6.___About once a year.

(M) 43. How often do you have contact with your close relatives by telephone or letter?

1.___Almost every day.
2.___Once or twice a week.
3.___Once or twice a month.
4.___Every other month.
5.___Few times a year.
6.___About once a year.

(M) 44. How far, on the average, do you live from your close relatives?

1.___0-10 miles
2.___11-30 miles
3.___31-50 miles
4.___51-150 miles
5.___more than 150 miles.

(M) 45. In general, do you feel that your contact with close relatives is:

1.___Too much
2.___Too little
3.___About right

(M) 46. Do you feel your contact with close friends is:

1.___Too much
2.___Too little
3.___About right

(M) 47. Do you have relatives or "close kin" currently living in the South?

1.___No (go to #49)
2.___Yes (go to #48)

(M) 48. Many people from the South (or the Islands) send their children back each summer. Do you do this?

1.___Often
2.___Sometimes
3.___Never

49. In general, how much do the members of your family go out of the way to help you?

1. __A very great deal.
2. __A great deal.
3. __Somewhat.
4. __Very little.
5. __Not at all.

50. What kinds of help, if any, have you given to your relatives in the past few years? (like childcare, loans of money, clothing, furniture)

Probe: Anything else?

51. What kinds of help, if any, have you received from your relatives in the past few years?

Probe: Anything else?

52. What kinds of help have you given to your friends in the past few years?

53. What kinds of help have you received from your friends in the past few years?

54. In terms of your obligations to your relatives, do you feel you've:

1. __Given more help than you've received.
2. __Received more help than you've given.
3. __Given about the same as you've received.
4. __Don't know.

55. In terms of your obligations to your friends, do you feel you've:

1. __Given more help than you've received.
2. __Received more help than you've given.
3. __Given about the same as you've received.
4. __Don't know.

56. Generally speaking, do you feel that your friends have helped you:

1. __A very great deal.
2. __A great deal.
3. __Have had no effect.
4. __Not helped at all.

Generally, do you feel you owe a lot for the help given to you by:

57. Your family and relatives:

1. __Yes
2. __No
3. __Don't know

58. Given to you by your friends:

1. __Yes
2. __No
3. __Don't know

59. Since you've moved here, who has given you the most help?

1. __Family
2. __Friends
3. __Community agencies
4. __All about the same
5. __No one

I'd like to ask some questions about your interaction with your family.

60. If you go out of your way to help a close relative, would you:

1. __Expect them to always go out of their way for you?
2. __Expect them to help you out only in emergencies?
3. __Expect nothing in return.
4. __Don't know.

61. Has the amount of help or assistance given you by your relatives increased, decreased, or remained about the same since you've lived here?

1. __Increased
2. __Decreased
3. __Remained about the same

62. Has the amount of help or assistance you have given to your relatives increased, decreased, or remained about the same since you've lived here?

1. __Increased
2. __Decreased
3. __Remained about the same

63. In general, if you loan money to a close relative, do you expect to get it back?

1. __Always expect to get it back.
2. __Usually expect to get it back.
3. __Rarely or never expect to get it back.

↳Tell me more about that:

64. Do you feel obligated to help family members who are less fortunate than you?

1. __Yes, without question.
2. __Usually; it depends on the circumstances.
3. __Rarely, if ever.
4. __Don't know.

65. If a person in your family "makes it" or "moves up," how much is he or she expected to share with the rest of the family?

1. __A great deal of sharing is expected.
2. __Some sharing is expected.
3. __Very little sharing is expected.
4. __No sharing is expected.

Probe.

66. How do you feel about your family coming to your aid in hard times, such as when you are low on cash, between jobs, or having a bad period?

67. What kind of organizations do _you_ belong to? Are you a member of:

1. __Church
2. __PTA
3. __Political organizations
4. __Food/babysitting coops
5. __Community or block associations
6. __Volunteer organizations (classroom help, etc.)
7. __Other (Please specify)
8. __No memberships [go to #69]

68. Are most of these activities held in groups that are:

1. __All Black
2. __Mostly white
3. __About equally mixed between Black and white

69.When you participate in social or informal groups, are they:

1. __Mostly white members
2. __Mostly Black members
3. __About the same number of Blacks and whites

70.Have you participated in any all-Black social club or civic groups since you've moved here?

1.__Yes. Which ones?
2.__No

71.Has your participation in all-Black groups increased, decreased, or remained about the same since you've moved here?

1. __Increased
2. __Decreased
3. __About the same

Probe: Why is this?

72.Do your all-Black group contacts occur:
1. __Often
2. __Sometimes
3. __Seldom
4. __Never

73.Suppose it was Saturday night; would you and your spouse (or ex-spouse) tend to go out together or separately, each with your own friends?

1. Usually together
2. Own separate friends.

Explain.

(M) 74When crises arise, how do you and your family handle them?

75. Some statistics indicate that Blacks, on the average live 10 years less than whites, that they are more prone to certain diseases (high blood pressure, cancer, heart and kidney diseases). In your opinion, what causes these situations?

76. What kinds of community support services do you feel are most needed by those living here?

Do you feel we need more:

*1. Job training ___Yes __No

2. Job placement __Yes __No

3. Educational facilities __Yes __No

4. Child care facilities __Yes __No

5. Community information special to Blacks __Yes __No

6. Public transportation __Yes __No

7. Health care facilities __Yes __No

8. Recreational facilities __Yes __No

9. Counseling services __Yes __No

Marriage? __

Child? __

Personal therapy? __

Financial? __

*(Probe on each "yes" response: "Could you be more specific? Why? What kind? Any other services?")

(M) 77. Which agencies have been most helpful to you and your family in the past few years? (For example: fire or police departments, libraries, counseling services, job training/placement, financial aid, meals on wheels, etc.) In what way?

Probe: Any other services?

(M) 78. How much have community organizations helped or assisted you? Have they?

1. __Helped a very great deal.
2. __Helped a great deal.
3. __Have had no affect.
4. __Not helped at all.

79. If you could design the ideal family support system to deal with everyday problems and emergency crises, what services would you like to see provided?

80. Do you feel that Blacks raise their children any differently than other ethnic groups? Yes___ No___Maybe___ Don't know___

If "yes", in what way?
Probe.

81. Would you say that Black parents are as protective of their children as white parents? More___ Less___ About the same___ Don't know___

Why?

82. In your opinion, are Black parents as strict with their children as white parents? More___ Less___ About the same___ Don't know___

Why?

83. Do you feel that it is important for your child to be aware of his/her family history over several generations? Yes___ No___

Please explain.

84. Do you tell your child stories about your family history, or stories about relatives, grandparents, greatgrandparents, etc.?
Yes___ Sometimes___ Rarely___ No---

Please explain.

85. Do you tell __________stories about famous Black people? Yes___ No____
If yes, how often?____
Could you give me some examples?

86. In your opinion, does television portray Black families accurately?
Yes___ No___

Why do you feel that way?

87. Do you feel that the way Black families are portrayed on television has a positive or a negative effect on your child?
Positive_____ Negative_____

In what way?

88. What role does religion play in your family life?

89. Are you raising your child exactly the way your parents raised you?
Yes___ No___

In what way are you doing things differently?

90. Would you say that your needs come second to your children's?
Yes___ Sometimes___ No___

Please explain.

91. If there had to be a choice between a male and a female child, which one would have preference for further educational training?
Male___ Female___

Why?

92. a. If you and your spouse were both permanently unable to care for your child, who would care for him/her? ______________________________

b. What relationship is that person to you? ________________________

c. Would that person raise your child differently? Yes___ Maybe___ No____

Please explain.

93. If your child was the only Black child in a nursery school, would you encourage him to be assertive or passive with the other children?
Assertive___ Passive___ Both___ Depends___ Don't know___

Why?

94. a. If a white child called your child a nigger, what would you expect him/her to do?

b. What would you do?

95. a. If a Black child called your child a nigger, what would you expect him/her to do?

b. What would you do?

96. Could you list three of the most positive things about your family?

Thank you for helping us by answering our questions. To verify that you have actually been interviewed by me, someone on the staff will be calling to check. Once a check has been made, this sheet will be thrown away. Please give us your phone number:__________________________

If there are any comments you would like to make about me as an Interviewer, please feel free to send this postcard to our office. You don't have to sign your name. (Offer addressed postcard.)

Here is your gift certificate. Thank you again. Good-bye.